

## Calling Reagan's **BLUFF**

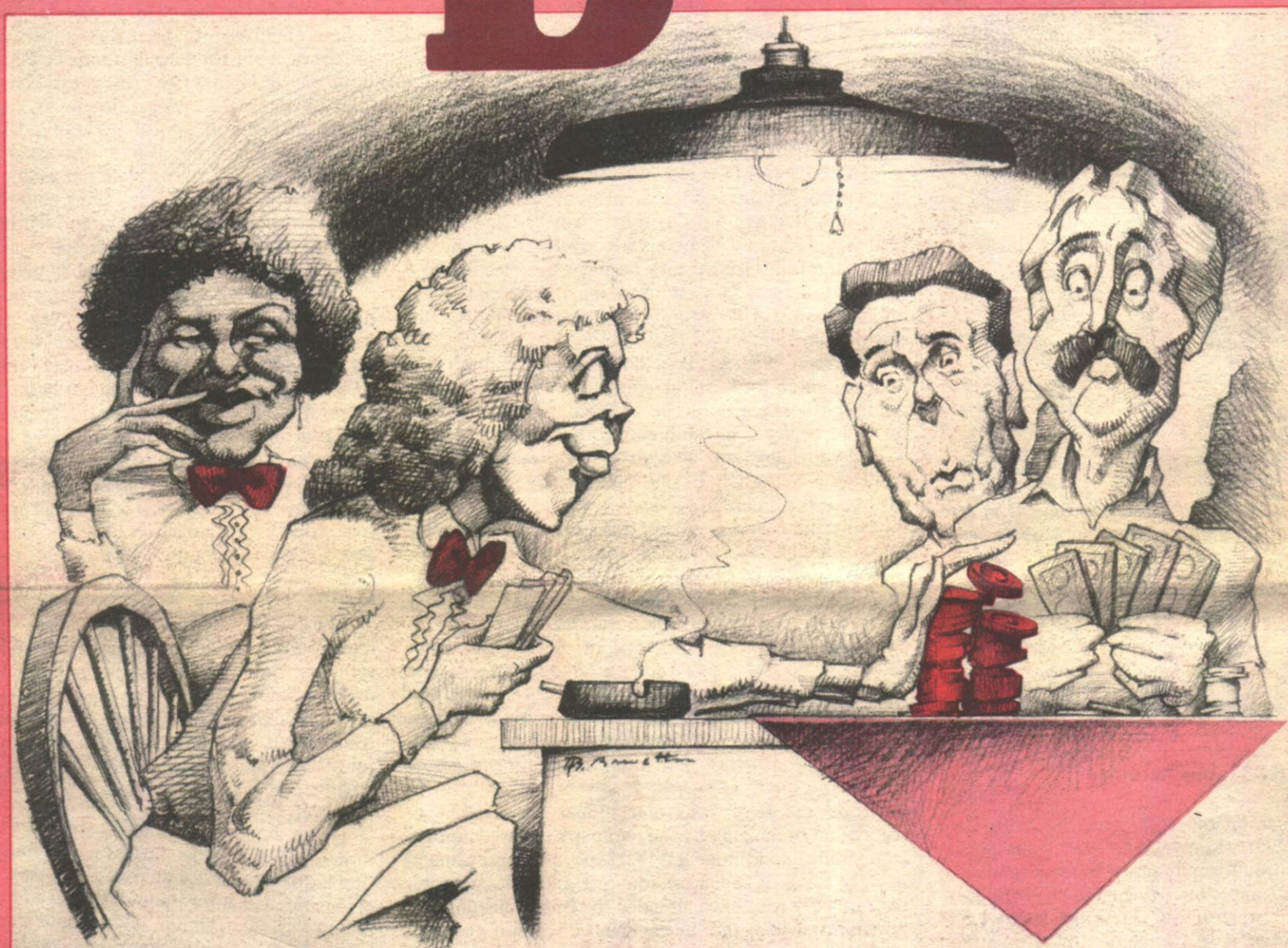


Illustration by Al Brunettin

Joan Walsh reports • Page 8

**T**he gender gap shows  
women may hold the cards to  
Republican defeat in '84.



# THE INSIDE STORY



Harry Nicholas, president of 1199, opposes the move to dismantle the union's unique position inside a store workers union.

## Shake-up in hospital union sparks fight

By David Moberg

The National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees—popularly known as “1199”—has deservedly won a reputation for militant, effective organizing. Now many of its leaders have turned their energies inward in an attempt to stop what President Henry Nicholas says is an attempt to dismantle and silence their democratic, clean and politically left union.

Most 1199 leaders were completely surprised by the move. At the very end of the October 2 executive board meeting of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU), the parent international union of 1199, RWDSU President Alvin Heaps suddenly announced his plans to “restructure” the union to eliminate a cohesive national hospital workers union. Then he adjourned the meeting without discussion.

There is a complicated but essential history that explains why his plan was so upsetting. Originally, Local 1199 was formed in 1932 to organize pharmacy workers in New York City. During the post-war redbaiting era, it temporarily left RWDSU, then returned in the '50s. By 1958 Local 1199 had scored its first major success in organizing private hospital workers, who were grievously underpaid and in large part black. Further organizing victories came through long, difficult strikes in 1959 and 1962, and by 1968 the union won its historic \$100-a-week minimum guarantee for all workers.

Just as the union was investigating possibilities of organizing outside New York, it was asked to support a walkout of hospital workers in Charleston, S.C. With partial success after a 113-day strike, the union at least proved it was tough. Soon it started organizing in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Jersey and eventually the Midwest and beyond.

Although 1199 had an informal agreement with RWDSU to extend its organizing, a more formal contract established in 1973 the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees as a division of RWDSU with special autonomy. National 1199 agreed to pay reduced dues to RWDSU—about one-fourth—and retain the rest of the money for its own administration, education, services and new organizing.

In its first decade National 1199 organized 86,610 workers in 722 election victories, winning an unsurpass-

ed 68 percent of all elections. (All unions averaged 49 percent wins in 1980.) While the rest of RWDSU devoted few resources to organizing and remained at the same level of 82,000 members in the U.S., National 1199 more than doubled to approximately 150,000. They succeeded in part because they were willing to shift experienced staff from any part of the country to help local organizing drives. Earlier this year in Seattle, for example, staff from nine districts or areas contributed to organizing 1,200 workers at Group Health. They also put one-fifth of their budget into organizing—three times the proportion RWDSU devoted.

Despite the success, 85 percent of hospital and health care workers (and 88 percent of all private sector workers) remain unorganized. Although 47 other international unions represent some health care workers, only AFSCME (public employees) and the Service Employees (SEIU) have had significant successes. SEIU has 200,000 health care workers in its ranks.

In late 1981 and early 1982 Leon Davis, for 50 years the leader of 1199, pushed hard for a merger of SEIU and RWDSU, but the deal was eventually killed by Heaps despite enthusiasm among National 1199 members (who voted three-to-one in favor of a merger) and SEIU leaders. The most prominent 1199 opponent of the merger was Doris Turner, who succeeded Davis as head of District 1199-NY when he retired last year. Nicholas, who like Turner is black, was strongly pro-merger. He became president of National 1199, which is more than 60 percent black, making 1199 the largest black-led union in the U.S.

At the RWDSU board meeting, Heaps reportedly described the union as a “two-headed monster” marred by duplication and waste of \$3 million a year “for no purpose other than to have an existing division.”

“The Hospital Division has for years been fighting the RWDSU,” members present quote him as saying, “and now they are fighting themselves.” Although the plan is not entirely clear, apparently Heaps intends to collect the full dues starting January 1 (collecting \$5.5 million instead of \$1.4 million a year), dissolve the National Union and incorporate all the hospital units as locals of RWDSU.

As a result, Nicholas concludes, “there wouldn’t be a national union for hospital workers. We would be without a voice. There would be no drive, no commitment. It would be death to the dream of hospital workers.”

Bob Muehlkamp, executive vice-president for organization of National 1199, said that by making each district of the union into a separate local, “how can you go to hospitals and say, ‘Join the only union with programs for those workers, that concentrates on hospital workers and is geared only to hospital workers?’ You can’t. By dismantling the apparatus you have the same problems as every other union that has tried to organize hospital workers. Also, one of the reasons we’ve been so successful is we’ve concentrated resources—and not just money—on organizations. In other unions that effort is dissipated, and everyone goes his own way. Heaps is dismantling a concentrated approach by dismantling the structure. The implications for organizing are devastating.”

Heaps’ charge of wastefulness looks flimsy when the records on organizing by the two parts of the union are compared. In addition, RWDSU spends proportionately three times as much on administration. Representatives of 1199 who have attended the board meetings report that most of the time is spent discussing the officers’ pensions. While only one of the National 1199 of-

ficers is paid—the rest receive only their local union salaries—and Nicholas is the highest paid at \$38,000 a year, Heaps makes twice that (plus \$55,000 in expenses in last year) and some local RWDSU officers makes salaries approaching \$100,000.

RWDSU has had a long history of splits—such as District 65, now part of the UAW. Many might wonder why 1199 stays in, especially when RWDSU is relatively quiescent and 1199 has been politically active—opposing the war in Vietnam in 1964 and now strongly critical of U.S. El Salvador policy and arms spending. In addition to fighting against health-care cutbacks, 1199 has been an important supporter of liberal and black local politicians. But 1199 leaders value the AFL-CIO affiliation, and since so many unions claim interest in health-care organizing, they cannot be recognized as the exclusive hospital union. Simply joining SEIU would violate prohibitions against union raiding.

Since both Heaps and Turner declined to be interviewed, their motivations are hard to fathom. National 1199 Executive Secretary Moe Foner says, “It’s always been [Heaps’] feeling that we’re a threat, and the only way he could defeat us was to divide us.” If 1199 suddenly decided to pay full dues, it could outvote the rest of RWDSU, although 1199 leaders disavow any such intention. National 1199 has also pushed the merger, which some RWDSU leaders reportedly feel could threaten their comfortable executive board seats, travel, perks and their right to run operations with a free hand.

Some 1199 leaders speculate that personal rivalry may in part account for Turner opposing Nicholas. In addition, as National 1199 grows, the New York district loses its dominance. But criticisms of Turner have been muted in favor of appeals to unity. Nicholas said he would support Turner as part of his slate for re-election as union secretary at the National 1199 convention December 7-10. At one point Turner said she would challenge Nicholas, but last week representatives in her office say she has not announced her candidacy and describe the restructuring proposal as being “in limbo.”

Although Turner has support of a number of other national vice presidents from the New York district, at least three have joined all the other National 1199 leaders in opposing the Heaps proposal. One of the three VPs said, “The national union has been one of the most vibrant, militant and successful organizing tools of the labor movement in past years. We don’t just walk in and say ‘hello.’ We raise understanding of workers to develop a social consciousness, to fight racism and to give them a rounded view. For us to tinker with it or worse is just a disaster. The bosses are jumping up and down and laughing. Everyone in the labor movement should come to its defense in a positive movement.”

AFL-CIO officials and other union officers are unlikely publicly to do much, but privately they have reason to worry. “This mitigates against support for Mondale,” Nicholas said. “With Jackson in the race and the highest ranking black in the AFL-CIO pushed aside, it will be hard to keep people concerned about this in the fold.” The labor movement’s credibility with its black members may be on the line.

Heaps would probably have to call a special convention to enact his plan. But even if he has the votes there, the battle would not be over. The expert organizers of 1199 are out signing up members in a National Committee to Save Our Union. “We would challenge a special convention as illegal, breaking a contract,” Foner said. “They would have to take us over physically.”

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By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

ON NOVEMBER 4, THE STATE Department released copies of documents that it said American forces had found in Grenada. These documents included arms pacts between Grenada and the Soviet Union, Cuba and North Korea and minutes of Grenadian Central Committee meetings held during September and October.

According to the State Department, these documents showed that Grenada was, in President Ronald Reagan's words, a "Soviet-Cuban colony" whose purpose was to "export terror" in the Caribbean and elsewhere. Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam said that the documents proved that Grenada "would have become a fortified Soviet military outpost."

The documents may be authentic and are definitely interesting. The Central Committee minutes jibe with independent accounts of those meetings. But the military pacts and the minutes do not show what the State Department claims they do.

The pacts with the Soviet Union, Cuba and North Korea for military aid indicate that the Grenadian government wanted to equip an army of about 2,000 and a militia of about twice this size with weapons whose function was defensive rather than offensive.

The Central Committee meetings show that the Grenadian regime was seriously adrift in the murky waters of Marxism-Leninism and might have run aground on its own had the U.S. not invaded. But they do not reveal the slightest hint of a colonial relationship between the Grenadian government and either Cuba or the Soviet Union.

### Grenadian army.

The arms pacts are difficult to decipher, even in English. But with the help of Douglas T. Mathews of the Center for Defense Information, I pieced together an estimate of the amount of weapons and their possible use.

The weapons to be sent consisted entirely of small arms and artillery and of vehicles and equipment that would be used by an army carrying rifles. Some of the weapons to be sent were antiques. For instance, of the 6,500 rifles, 2,500 were carbines that were used by second-line Soviet troops during World War II. "They're suitable for a militia or for gun collectors," Mathews said.

The prevalence of small arms suggests that the weapons were meant only for de-

# Grenadian documents do not show what Reagan claims

fense. Mathews estimated that the weapons would equip two infantry battalions—about 2,000 soldiers—and a militia of about 4,000. "We're looking at a rifle-toting force," he said. "Unless they're going to invade St. Kitts, they're not going anywhere."

The following are other telltale signs that the arms were not meant to "export terror."

There are heavy but not light machine guns included in the weapons. According to Mathews, light machine guns are used by an advancing strike force, while heavy machine guns are defensive. There are not enough heavy mortars for an attack unit.

There are also 30 signalling pistols included—not enough for an invading force. There are only 22,000 magazines for the 4,000 AK-47 rifles. This amounts to about six magazines per rifle, which is the peacetime allotment of the American infantry. And there is a lack of training rounds and of spare parts.

The documents also do not bear out administration claims that massive numbers of Cuban military advisers were about to land in Grenada. In a press conference, Admiral Wesley McDonald said that the documents revealed a "long-range plan for Cuban intervention." McDonald claimed that the Cubans planned to station 4,341 troops and military advisers in Grenada.

But the documents show that the Cubans planned to station only 27 permanent and 12 or 13 temporary military specialists in Grenada. They planned to send 12 or 13 additional specialists over two to four-month periods. According to the secret protocol between Grenada and Cuba, these specialists were to assist in "the elaboration of the operative and mobilized plans for the defense of the country."

The size of Grenada's defensive force was unusually large for an island of only 100,000. But its size was the result of the government's fear that Grenada would be invaded by the U.S. or be drawn into an American-inspired regional conflict.

Grenadian fears of invasion date back at least to the summer of 1981, when the U.S. staged "Ocean Venture" in the Caribbean (*In These Times*, Sept. 23, 1981).

a threat to American lives could justify an American invasion, said that he now believed that "sending American forces into combat was justified."

Finding an opponent on Capitol Hill of the American invasion is now as difficult as finding an opponent of balanced budgets or the Lincoln Monument. But there are a few, even among the delegation. Rep. Don Bonker (D-Wash.) still has doubts about the delegation's conclusion. Reps. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) and Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) announced their dissent to other members of the delegation in a November 9 press conference. Dellums and Stokes arrived at the House Radio/TV Gallery after having briefed the Black Caucus on their visit to Grenada. According to Stokes, the Caucus endorsed their conclusions.

Neither Stokes nor Dellums accepted the majority view that the medical students were in danger. Stokes said that the question remained "very murky." He said that he had asked Americans if they had heard of any threat to any American in the days between Maurice Bishop's death and the invasion. He said no one reported any incident.

He then recounted conversations that the delegation had with the Medical School's vice chancellor in which he told of Revolutionary Council head Hudson Austin trying to assure him of the students' safety. And Stokes re-

In these military exercises, American forces invaded an island—labeled "Amber" in the exercise—that was supposed to be allied to Cuba and the Eastern bloc. Grenadians believed the invasion was a rehearsal for an invasion of their island.

In the minutes of the September 14 Central Committee meeting, Ewart Layne outlined the revolution's military tasks as organizing "the defense of the revolution in the face of a qualitatively stepped-up aggression from imperialism who for years has attempted to carry out its policy of becoming more and more into a 'gun boat' policy."

### A dubious colony.

Extensive minutes handed out by the State Department cover the climactic meetings of September and October in which Prime Minister Maurice Bishop's leadership was challenged by a majority of the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement, the group controlling

the Grenadian government. The documents show no sign of a colonial relationship between Grenada and the Soviet Union or Cuba. Grenada's Caribbean neighbors justified their call for invasion on the grounds that Bishop's October 19 murder was part of a Cuban-Soviet plot to tie Grenada closer to the Soviet bloc. But the documents contain an unsigned memorandum, dated October 21, on Cuba's response to Bishop's murder. From the document, it is clear beyond doubt that Cuba meant what it said when it denounced the killing.

The memorandum complains that Fidel Castro's friendship with Bishop caused the Cubans "to take a *personal* and not a *class* approach to the developments in Grenada." It warned that Cuba's rebuke "creates an atmosphere for speeding imperialist intervention."

From the documents, one can infer a relationship between Grenada, the

*Continued on page 10*



When the final count was in, there turned out to be 784 Cubans on Grenada, exactly what the Cubans claimed. Only a small handful were soldiers.

marked upon the curious fact that the American invasion force had waited three days before rescuing students at one of the two campuses on Grenada. Stokes said, "It is probable that if the students were not on the island, the U.S. would have invaded the island anyway."

Dellums reiterated Stokes' suspicion that the students' safety was at best an "ancillary" concern of the Reagan administration. Dellums said, "A number of my colleagues are going to hang their support of the president's policy on the strength of answering one question, 'were the students in danger,' which at best is not a simple question. I believe I can make an objective case that the students were not the primary objective of this mission. That was only a convenient vehicle that allowed this administration to continue the militarization of its foreign policy and gain maximum benefit in a situation with minimum risks."

Dellums also dismissed the evidence of weapons found on the island. He recalled how Bishop had protested the American military exercise—Ocean Venture '81—at the United Nations for being a thinly veiled rehearsal of an invasion of his island. Dellums accused the administration of creating a "self-fulfilling prophecy."

"If Ron Dellums at six feet four and a half inches and 200 pounds threatens a

small individual every time I see that person, saying, 'I'm going to harm you, I'm going to kill you,' that person gets a gun, I shoot him and as he falls the gun rolls out of his pocket and I say, 'See, this is a dangerous individual.'" he said.

Dellums was harshly critical of the coup that ousted Bishop, but agreed that it was not the business of the U.S. to replace one Grenadian regime with another. "Do we have the right to violate the territorial integrity and impose our will on other people, and isn't it patronizing not to allow people on that island to resolve their own internal affairs? The people on Grenada were not taking Bishop's death lying down."

Dellums and Stokes insisted that Foley and O'Neill had not tried to "muzzle" them, but they betrayed some irritation with the speaker and the press. At their meeting with O'Neill, they said, there was no discussion about reaching a consensus. After the meeting, however, O'Neill had reported that "the overwhelming consensus" had been in favor of the invasion.

Dellums also expressed concern that the Democrats' support of the Grenadian invasion would encourage the Reagan administration to pursue its policies in Central America. "If you are not willing to stand up here, at what point are you willing to stand up?" Dellums asked.

—J.B.J.

## Democrats' dissipation

With last week's return of the 14-person bipartisan delegation that House Speaker Tip O'Neill (D-Mass.) sent to Grenada, Democratic opposition to the invasion has dissipated.

The delegation, led by House Whip Tom Foley (D-Wash.) reported to the speaker on November 8. According to Foley, a "very large majority feels that under the circumstances, the president acted correctly to protect American lives." Foley's conclusions were echoed by Rep. Michael Barnes (D-Md.), the chair of the House foreign affairs subcommittee on the Western hemisphere, and a key member of the delegation. Barnes said that he was convinced by testimony from American foreign service officers in Grenada that "the American citizens of Grenada were either in serious physical danger or certainly had every reason to believe that they were in danger."

After the delegation had announced its findings, O'Neill and other leading Democrats signalled their agreement. Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) said that he now believed the invasion was "appropriate." O'Neill, noting that only



# INSHORT

## Our buddies, ourselves

A moderate Democrat with a good record on women's issues has won the Georgia House of Representatives seat vacated by Larry McDonald, the John Birch Society chair who was martyred in the Soviet KAL downing in September. But Georgia feminists aren't entirely happy about the election of George "Buddy" Darden, since it was orchestrated by the state Democratic machine at the expense of a woman candidate, longtime party loyalist Juanelle Edwards. The *Eleanor Smeal Report*, a bi-monthly political newsletter published by the former National Organization for Women president, chronicled how an all-male fishing trip in mid-September resulted in the party endorsing Darden and telling Edwards that its money and machinery would be monopolized by the 39-year-old attorney's candidacy. Edwards dropped out of the race.

State party leaders may have thought women should be satisfied with the candidacy of McDonald's widow, Kathryn. Every bit the right-wing extremist her husband was, McDonald's chances for the House seat were no doubt hurt by her brother-in-law's public contention that she belonged at home with her young children.

## Dutch retreat?

Building on a massive demonstration against Euromissile deployment that drew a half-million people October 29, Diana Johnstone reports the influential Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV) has launched an anti-missile petition campaign seeking signatures from a majority of Dutch voters. The Dutch demonstration was held a week later than those held in the four other NATO missile-deployment countries, a reminder that the decision to accept the missiles, and their deployment, is farther away in Holland than in the others. And the Dutch have the best chance to get out of it.

The IKV campaign seeks to make it "morally impossible" for the government to go ahead with deployment, a decision still six months away. The government may welcome the excuse. While the ruling Christian Democrats are on record favoring the acceptance of the 48 Cruise missiles earmarked for Holland, polls show 30 percent of the party opposes the decision. The October demonstration showed the scope of the consensus against deployment, with the chairs of the Dutch trade union confederation and the council of churches, Labour Party leader Joop den Uyl, and even Queen Beatrix's sister, Princess Irena, among the speakers. The queen herself is prohibited from taking a stand on the missiles, though her own reservations about deployment were made public when Jesse Jackson divulged then after he met with her in September.

Meanwhile, the Greenham Common women's battle against Cruise deployment in England moved to a New York courtroom last week. A lawsuit filed November 9 by the Center for Constitutional Rights seeks an injunction barring deployment of the missiles on the grounds that they violate international laws prohibiting indiscriminate killing of civilians and subject British citizens to an unacceptable risk of nuclear attack. "With 102 bases in our country we feel we are living in an occupied zone," said Greenham representative Liz Forder. The suit was joined by U.S. Reps. Ted Weiss (D-N.Y.) and Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), who contend that the deployment of first-strike missiles deprives Congress of its power to declare war.

## Citizen for president

While Citizens Party leaders Barry Commoner and Ramsey Clark joined other political dignitaries behind Jesse Jackson as he declared his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination (see story this page), Mormon feminist Sonia Johnson was launching her campaign for the Citizens' own nomination early next year. While a vocal faction of Citizens want to join Jackson's "rainbow coalition"—Commoner told the party convention that any left group that doesn't will make itself irrelevant—another strong segment believes the party should stay out of Democratic politics altogether and build a third-party alternative. To that end Johnson announced her candidacy, and declared that feminist issues would be central to her campaign. "The imbalance of power between men and women in this country is dangerous and potentially lethal," Johnson said in her press statement. "Men with their monopoly on power are hurtling us toward planetary annihilation." Although Clark had also been rumored to be seeking the Citizens' nomination, his appearance with Jackson seems to indicate he found Commoner's political logic persuasive.

## Frivolity, \$500

The Internal Revenue Service has never been known for a sense of humor, but few people are aware that even frivolity can carry a penalty. Dr. Marjorie Nelson, a Quaker from Akron, Ohio, was fined \$500 for claiming a war tax deduction, which she said should cut her taxes by 36 percent—the portion of the federal budget that goes to the military. Although she had already paid the tax—it had been withheld from her salary—the IRS fined her "for filing a return based on a frivolous position," and told her she would have to pay half the fine if she wished to appeal it, Jack Neff reports. The American Civil Liberties Union has challenged the fine, which Nelson says is "an infringement on freedom of speech, religion and the right to petition the government for redress."

—Joan Walsh



Jesse Jackson is campaigning to win "the rejected" a new covenant with the Democrats and labor, more than for the presidency.

## Jesse makes it official

WASHINGTON—The Rev. Jesse Jackson formally announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for president in a spirited rally Nov. 4 at Washington's new Convention Center. More than 2,500 Washingtonians, many of them city employees, came to hear Jackson and 14 of his prominent supporters.

The rally and Jackson's speech bore out the strengths and the weaknesses of his candidacy. Its strengths were evident in the crowd's fevered response to Jackson and to the issues he is raising. Speakers were interrupted frequently by chants of "Run Jesse Run" and "Win Jesse Win." When a heckler from the Jewish Defense League, accusing Jackson of anti-Semitism, tried to drown out Jackson, the crowd drowned him out with "Run Jesse Run."

Jackson's supporters seemed in a state of almost religious euphoria. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) described Jackson's relation to Martin Luther King as "his son, his disciple." Jackson's announcement "culminates 19 years of my life in the U.S. Congress, and I am going to work [for Jackson] like I've never

worked before," Conyers said.

Jackson also addressed the campaign's issues with a clarity and a perspective certainly lacking among the frontrunners. He didn't mince words in denouncing the American invasion of Grenada and the continued presence of American Marines in Lebanon. He didn't equivocate about B-1 bombers or the need for military modernization in declaring for "the human race over the nuclear race."

Speaking about poverty and unemployment, Jackson did not sound as if he were reading a report of the Congressional Budget Office. "I don't sympathize with the poor. It's all in the blood," Jackson told the crowd.

But the weaknesses of Jackson's campaign were also apparent. Of the 130 dignitaries who shared the dias at the front of the Convention Center with Jackson, there were at most 10 whites and very few Hispanics. The crowd was also overwhelmingly black. It cheered loudly when Jackson charged that "schools were being closed and jails [were] being built, teachers being fired and jailers being hired," but responded faintly to mention of the Pershing II or pollution.

Among the speakers, Hispanics were represented by the son of the leader of the National Hispanic Leadership Conference. There were no Puerto Rican

speakers. The most prominent whites were environmentalist Barry Commoner, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and freeze campaign director Randall Forsberg. Forsberg explained later, however, that she was merely endorsing Jackson's decision to run and not his candidacy. Feminists were represented by Maxine Waters, a black assemblywoman from California.

Jackson's proposals are wide-ranging, but he does not speak directly for the legendary Mr. and Mrs. Joe Sixpack or for the middle-class suburbanite worried about nuclear war, acid rain and property taxes. He speaks directly for what he calls "the rejected," a group not limited to American blacks, but certainly defined by their problems.

In three paragraphs inserted into his speech at the last moment, Jackson declared that he sought a "new covenant" that would give "blacks and other elements of our rainbow coalition" "full parity" in the Democratic Party and the trade union movement.

Jackson doesn't see himself winning control of the Democratic Party for a new political majority. He's out to secure certain concessions within that party and the labor movement for a minority that he represents. In this sense, he is not running a serious campaign for the presidency.

Jackson's political strategy reflects this. His campaign is focusing exclusively on those states with sufficiently large black populations to afford him a chance of winning 20 percent of the vote in a congressional district—the minimum that a presidential candidate must get in order to win one of the 3,931 delegates to the Democratic nominating convention next summer. Jackson will emphasize primaries in Alabama, Georgia, Illinois (Chicago), New York (New York City) and Washington, D.C.

Jackson's best chance to win convention delegates was advanced by endorsements from Washington D.C.'s two most prominent politicians, Mayor Marion Barry and Rep. Walter Fauntroy. With their support, Jackson will probably win most of the District's 19 delegates.

—John B. Judis

## Left split in Santa Cruz

SANTA CRUZ, CALIF.—Running against the best financed campaign in the city's history, the Santa Cruz left maintained majority control of the city council with a 2-2 split in the November 8 election.

Two years ago, the left won control of the council when Marty Wormhoudt and John Laird joined self-proclaimed "socialist-feminists" Michael Rotkin and Bruce Van Allen to enact a policy of strong support for neighborhood groups, environmental protection, growth control and social programs.

In this month's election, the opposition geared up and ran a high-priced, professional campaign. When the final disclosures are in, the four candidates of the All Santa Cruz slate will have



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spent well over \$100,000 or around \$4 per registered voter. The Los Angeles-based public relations firm Marathon Communications ran the campaign. Last April Marathon ran the All Santa Monica campaign that won all three seats from the left majority and retired Mayor Ruth Yanatta Goldway. Previously the firm ran the All Berkeley Campaign against a left slate.

In Santa Cruz, Marathon directed an intensive mail and telephone campaign, charging that Rotkin and Van Allen were power-hungry extremists with a hidden agenda. It was mainly an image campaign, with opponents of the council majority attacking no



David Moberg

***Michael Rotkin won re-election.*** specific issues. But Marathon's involvement made it clear that conservative real estate interests across the state link Berkeley, Santa Cruz and Santa Monica as havens of anti-growth, left-leaning politics.

# Vote restricts S. Africa trade

**NEW YORK**—A set of amendments to the Export Administration Act restricting American businesses' dealings with the Republic of South Africa received House of Representatives approval in late October. The legislation amounts to a direct rejection of the Reagan administration's attempts to promote economic links with the government of South Africa. But lobbyists in Washington are quick to point out that the anti-South Africa legislation will not become law unless the Export Administration Act is also passed by the Senate and signed by President Reagan.

An amendment banning new investment by American firms in South Africa, introduced by Rep. William Gray (D-Pa.) does not require companies to leave the Republic or prohibit those already operating there from reinvesting their profits. It does, however, sharply conflict with the Reagan administration's oft-stated policy of promoting "constructive engagement" between the U.S. and South Africa (see *In These Times*, Oct. 26).

The Gray amendment dominated almost the entire final two-hour debate on the Export Administration Act, while two other anti-apartheid amendments, sponsored by Representatives Howard Berman (D-Calif.) and Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.) passed without discussion.

Berman's amendment would reinstate a Carter administration ban on the sale of equipment to the South African military and police that has been lifted by the Reagan administration over the

When the results were in, All Santa Cruz candidates Arnie Levine (8,941 votes) and Katie Sears-Williams (8,570) led the field. Rotkin trailed closely in third place, while Van Allen was narrowly edged out for the fourth seat by fellow slate-member Jane Weed. Both sides ran slates of four candidates.

While the left barely held onto its council majority, the environment, the catalyst for Santa Cruz left politics in the early '70s, won a huge victory.

This time the issue was a massive, high-tech research and development park planned by administrators of the University of California—Santa Cruz. The project would require local government to build a \$5 million, six-lane road through the city's greenbelt. Costs for sewage treatment and water are also expected to be multi-million-dollar city problems.

State law exempts the campus from local planning processes in all developments for educational purposes. But much of the community was concerned about the massive high-tech park—and angry about the university's special exemption—and the issue was put on the ballot by the city council. The referendum asked the State Legislature and the regents of the university system to withhold approval of the park until it has gone through city planning process. More than 70 percent of voters favored the measure.

—**Bob Johnson**

past two years. Reagan has gradually relaxed restrictions on the sale of certain types of equipment, such as computers, light aircraft and helicopters, that increase the efficiency of the South African government.

The Solarz amendment would stop U.S. imports of South African gold Krugerrands, prohibit American banks from making loans to South Africa's government and require U.S. corporations operating in South Africa to sign a set of fair employment principles promoted by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a black Baptist minister who sits on the board of directors of General Motors.

Anti-apartheid lobbyists in Washington supported the first two provisions of the amendment, but refused to endorse the Sullivan code section because it is viewed as ineffective by the majority of independent black trade unions in South Africa.

The Export Administration Act contains one additional piece of legislation that affects Pretoria. An amendment introduced September 30 by Rep. Howard Wolpe would tighten controls on the export of nuclear technology to countries that have not accepted international safeguards against the spread of nuclear weapons, including South Africa.

While anti-apartheid lobbyists in Washington welcomed the victory in the House, the legislation at this stage remains largely symbolic. Congressional sources readily acknowledge that the Senate version of the Export Administration Act will not contain any of the South Africa restrictions contained in the House bill, although a version of the Wolpe amendment will be offered on the Senate floor.

—James Cason and  
Michael Fleshman

# Briefing: A model for the Right-to-Know movement

**TRENTON, N.J.**—A recent victory for labor and environmental groups in New Jersey has advanced the national battle for hazardous waste control. After more than a year of debate and a remarkable grassroots organizing campaign, Governor Thomas Kean signed a landmark "Right to Know" bill into law in August.

Eleven other states have adopted Right to Know laws as part of a growing national movement. Yet the battle in New Jersey between the Right to Know Coalition and industry is seen as a turning point for the national movement. Not only does the New Jersey Right to Know law chalk up a major victory for grassroots coalitions, it has also become an impetus and a model for other states to organize for Right to Know legislation.

**Right to Know laws require manufacturers to label and register with the state chemicals and toxic materials produced, stored or used on the company's premises. The New Jersey law is considered the nation's toughest. While most states make lists of workplace chemicals and their hazards available to employees, the New Jersey law makes the lists available to community members as well. And unlike state laws that only require labeling of materials considered toxic, the New Jersey law has a "universal labeling" provision that requires all chemicals in the workplace to be labeled.**

Since the passage in New Jersey, Illinois Gov. James Thompson signed a Right to Know bill and Massachusetts adopted its own law November 4. Grassroots groups in Washington and Pennsylvania have also begun to organize Right to Know campaigns.

The tactics these groups intend to use to advocate passage of the bills are partially based on strategies deemed successful in New Jersey. The New Jersey Citizen Action Right to Know Coalition, composed of about 70 labor, environmental and community groups, coordinated both coalition-wide efforts and efforts sponsored by individual member organizations. For example, while press relations were usually handled by Citizen Action staff in Hackensack, meetings with newspaper editorial boards were initiated by Common Cause.

At the height of the legislative debate, the coalition initiated a major action per month and released one press release per week, said Citizen Action staff member Jeanne Otersen. The coalition also filed a lawsuit against the state Commerce Commissioner claiming he had a conflict of interest because he testified against the bill while owning substantial stock in one chemical company.

Strong industry opposition necessitated the coalition's intense pace. Industry put its

time and money into influencing legislators. The opposition arguments posed by business groups were the same used in other states. The Chemical Industry Council said that simply listing the chemicals would not protect a worker against its hazards. The Council, instead, recommended that containers list how the material should be handled and not its contents.

Industry also argued, as it has in other states, that the cost of labeling would hurt businesses, possibly causing layoffs or shutdowns. But no industries in Right to Know states have crossed borders as a result of the legislation.

### In the face of restrictive state

—Jeanne Herb

Right-to-Know legislation, the federal government is moving with weaker chemical regulation guidelines. The Chemical Manufacturers Association (CMA), which lobbied for state regulation when the Carter administration drafted a strict federal Right to Know law, has reversed itself to endorse a pending Reagan administration Right to Know bill. That bill, much weaker than most states', does not include the universal labeling provision and may cause the biggest struggle for the national Right to Know movement yet.

Whether the federal bill would pre-empt states' laws is unclear. Hal Bozarth, a lobbyist for the New Jersey Chemical Industry Council, said he will file a lawsuit supporting pre-emption when the federal bill is released, seeking to overthrow the strong New Jersey bill as well as postpone its scheduled August implementation.



By Joe Holley

AUSTIN, TEXAS

**T**EXAS AGRICULTURE COMMISSIONER Jim Hightower surmounted some pretty damning criticism by his Republican opponent in order to get elected: he is an unmarried, former campus Communist, and he does not even own a refrigerator, campaigners for Fred Thornberry warned voters last fall. But voters were unfazed. Hightower, the diminutive ex-editor of the *Texas Observer*, soundly defeated Thornberry, a Texas A&M professor of poultry science who ran as a last-minute substitute for Donald Hebert, the political unknown who had won the Republican primary.

Hightower's victory, part of a noteworthy 1982 Democratic sweep in Texas, has set changes in motion, but all with little fanfare. He hasn't sabotaged Texas agribusiness, as the virulently right-wing and influential Texas Farm Bureau warned, nor has he replaced agency bureaucrats with tofu-eating ex-hippies who turn up their noses at free enterprise and the American way, as the state's Republicans forecasted.

Hightower, with his country-boy quips and sensitive public relations antennae, invariably attracts attention, but he has steered through his first nine months in office with little of the controversy some had anticipated. Partially overshadowed by the case of an embattled attorney general's recent criminal indictment involving Mobil Oil and a powerful Houston law firm, Hightower has worked quietly to better the lot of Texas farmers. He has devoted much of his attention to reorganizing the agency that "has not had an airing since the '50s," Hightower says. More than a dozen agency members have been fired or replaced since he took office. "I got elected on a program," Hightower explains. "I did not get elected to protect the jobs of everyone here.... You have to have your own people in charge. ...What I'm talking about is who I am going to trust to run my programs."

Among these programs are the efforts to boost a fledgling Texas wine industry and the attempts to revive traditional farmers' markets in urban areas around the state. The markets, Hightower's most visible and widely popular idea, are run by local people who form a cooperative and choose a manager. The Agriculture Department offers advice, assistance and experience but does not have a hands-on role in the markets.

"We're creating an additional competitive marketplace," Hightower says, "through which the farmers can reach consumers, in which the farmers get a market, get a better price than they would get—if they could—in a wholesale market, and the consumers get a better price than they would get at the supermarket. And better quality, too, since it's locally grown. In addition, all the money stays in the local economy."

Four markets were set up this year, and several more are in the works. They represent "a whole new economic sector in the marketplace," Hightower says. "It's not a government giving money and saying we'll give you \$100,000 to get a program going, and you hire a staff, and you do this and that. It's a cooperative venture between private individuals, producers and us, the packagers.... We just help open it up."

In addition to his scheme for encouraging alternative markets, Hightower also hopes to initiate a new financing system for farmers, using agricultural development bonds to aid farmers in start-up endeavors. This plan would allow banks to accumulate a special pool of capital exclusively to loan for agricultural ventures. The bonds would serve primarily to encourage agricultural processing, of which Texas currently does very little. Because a large percentage of the food dollar is in processing, Texas farmers are suffering.

"In 10 years the farmer's share of the food dollar has fallen from 37¢ to 28¢, and it's going lower," Hightower says. "The money's in processing." By encouraging farmers to join processing cooperatives through such programs as this one,

he will make points within the Texas business establishment, as well as in the farming communities.

For example, a south Texas onion growers' cooperative currently gets 8¢ per pound for its product, which is beneath the cost of production. If the coop were to break into the wholesale frozen onion ring market, it would bring in \$1.33 per pound for its onions. Hightower's bond proposal would put such a venture within the farmers' reach by providing a financing mechanism that allows farmers to bypass the "middle man" and a processing mechanism whereby they can begin to get the value-added dollar for their product.

#### A populist approach.

Hightower's populist approach to the farming economy, of which he views the farmers' markets and the bond proposal as primary examples, is an approach to problem-solving that he is trying to take nationwide. As chairman of the Democratic National Committee's (DNC) Agricultural Council, he will try to develop the party's alternative to the Reagan administration's agricultural policies. "To say,

'Get the government out of agriculture' may have a nice ring to it," Hightower warns, "but it will completely destroy our family farm and ranch program."

Rather, he intends to re-evaluate the 50-year-old Agricultural Adjustment Act—an act that, he believes, requires some fundamental revamping. "We cannot, as we have done in the past, just tinker with the mechanism."

Hightower's quarrel with the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which provides the basic structure for this country's farm policy, is that it is "commodity-based rather than farmer-based policy," says Leland Beatty, a spokesman for Hightower. Hightower currently is looking specifically at the Act's effect on cotton and sorghum growers in his attempt to re-think the policies it has created, and to search for alternatives.

Hightower sees his role in formulating a new farm policy and communicating that policy to voters both on the farms and in the cities as crucial. "The Democratic Party's national leadership has recognized, as we did here in Texas, that the greatest voter appeal for the family farm is in the cities," he says. "There's a sympathy there—a desire on the part of urban people to help farmers. But they have no mechanism for doing that. All they do is go to the supermarket. But they don't know how to get more of the dollar they spend there to the farmer."

Between now and next year's Democratic National Convention, Hightower will be conducting forums around the country to elicit ideas for the party's ag-

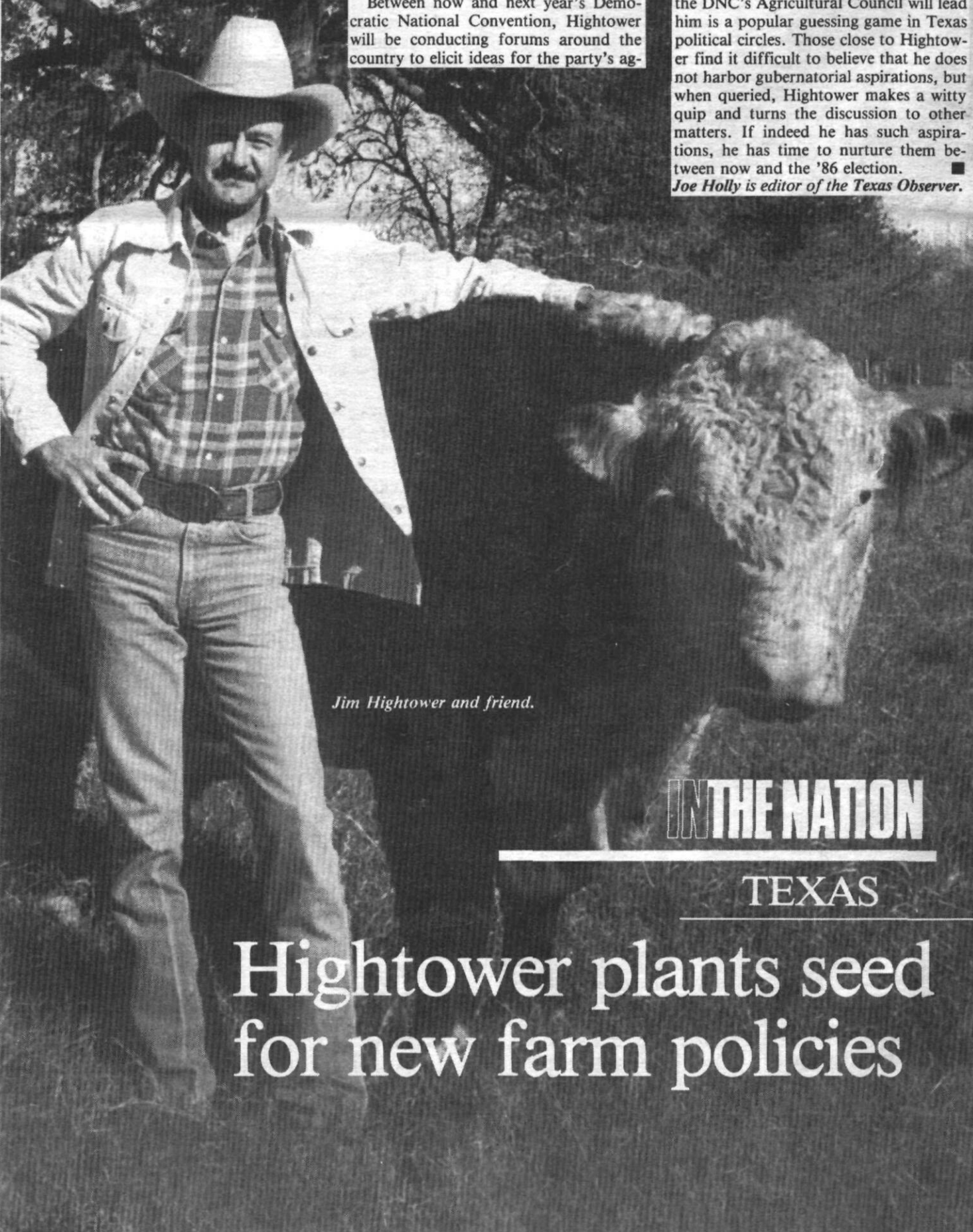
riculture policy. When he announced the forums, Hightower made clear that "there's no idea too wild for us to consider." In fact, something "wild" would probably be appreciated. He anticipates everything from fairly conventional Democratic policies such as mandatory set-aside programs and high loan rates, at least equal to the cost of production, to some more progressive concepts.

Of these, he mentions the notion, supported by Gov. Carlin of Nebraska and Gov. Schwinden of Montana, of setting up a national board, similar to Canada's wheat board, that would help gear production to both domestic and international demand. The Canadian wheat board manages the country's supply, shipping it where it needs to be sent. The board knows at all times where all the wheat in Canada is. While this would be nearly impossible in the U.S. because of the existence of the futures market, the national board would help those in the agriculture industry get a handle on how production affects the marketplace instead of always trying for record yields.

Hightower cites the roots of his populist politics in his youth in the North Texas town of Denison in the Red River basin—a region that has produced the likes of Sam Rayburn, Wright Patman, Carl Albert and Fred Harris. "It's a message I got when I grew up in a middle-class Methodist church community," Hightower says. "But you go to the black pulpit, you listen to the music and you hear it there, too. It is a continual battle of people struggling against concentrated economic power. And it's the same battle we're fighting today."

Where Hightower's position as head of the DNC's Agricultural Council will lead him is a popular guessing game in Texas political circles. Those close to Hightower find it difficult to believe that he does not harbor gubernatorial aspirations, but when queried, Hightower makes a witty quip and turns the discussion to other matters. If indeed he has such aspirations, he has time to nurture them between now and the '86 election.

Joe Holley is editor of the *Texas Observer*.



Jim Hightower and friend.

IN THE NATION

TEXAS

## Hightower plants seed for new farm policies





Ellen Shub

# Left won't lose, no matter who wins

By Peter Ajemian

BOSTON

STATE REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS GALLAGHER is one of many leftists here who will be satisfied if either Melvin King or Raymond Flynn is elected mayor on November 15. Gallagher, one of Massachusetts' most left-wing legislators, decided not to endorse either candidate because he has close, conflicting ties with each. But even many of the leftists who have backed one man or the other will be comfortable if their opponent wins.

The reason is that in the past few weeks Flynn and King have not argued about the left's main concern here—the need to shift economic power from the city's downtown developers to its diverse neighborhoods. Rather, they have debated how to approach that change and who is best qualified to lead it.

At near-daily forum appearances, each candidate has reiterated his support for rent control and restriction of condominium conversions, for requiring downtown developers to donate funds toward neighborhood improvement and for guaranteeing a minimum number of jobs to Boston residents.

In some cities, such stances wouldn't get a candidate too far. But the October 11 preliminary elections marked the defeat of status-quo candidate David Finnegan, who many predicted would replace retiring, 16-year incumbent Kevin White.

Instead, the victors were Flynn, a 44-year-old city councilor and former state representative from South Boston, and King, a 55-year-old former state representative from the South End who is the first black in the city's history to reach

the mayoral final election.

While leftists work for both campaigns, Flynn and King continue to draw their base of support from extremely different constituencies. Flynn won most of his votes in October from conservative Irish precincts, while King took 95 percent of the black vote and captured some support from white liberals.

Both men did poorly on the other's home turf, yet each has tried to sell his program in all parts of the city.

Flynn has advanced a traditional populist theme—more conservative on social issues and liberal on such economic matters as jobs and housing. His pitch has been to unite people on economic issues, and he's argued that white residents in South Boston face similar economic problems to blacks in Roxbury.

"In every neighborhood he went into, he talked about this as a campaign of the disenfranchised," said Nancy Snyder, a feminist who heads a women's committee for Flynn's campaign. "It was pro-neighborhood development."

Snyder, staff director of Boston's "9 to 5" group of women's office workers, said that Flynn has reached white, working-class poor—including those in Irish, socially conservative pockets—more than King. But King has criticized Flynn's approach to economics for ignoring the role of racism, which he said results in discrimination against most black job applicants.

On November 6, King blasted Flynn's repeated comparison of economic hardship facing South Boston and Roxbury residents, calling it "a cover-up of racism and racial discrimination."

"Mel's philosophy of 'bring the city together' means you lift the lowest and the whole is lifted up," said Jacqueline

Dee, King's press secretary. "The people of South Boston are hurt every time a black person is discriminated against."

Throughout the campaign King has criticized Flynn for failing to show leadership in the early '70s during Boston's crisis over court-ordered school busing. King has said that Flynn's public opposition to busing didn't help matters. Flynn has countered that he, more than other leaders, was at the scene of trouble trying to bring conflicting parties together.

In finishing the preliminary in second place, King was able to seize momentum from the national movement to register black voters. He invited Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young and presidential aspirant Jesse Jackson to campaign with him. And many minority voters are among the near 21,000 residents who have registered since October 11.

King's "rainbow coalition" best symbolizes the changing Boston population that has become more ethnically diverse and young. On November 5, white, black, Asian, Latino, gay and disabled King supporters from all over the city braved rainy weather to gather at City Hall to celebrate their unity.

Yet the demographics of Boston make it unlikely for King to win because only about 23 percent of the eligible voters are black. And veteran Boston pollster Thomas Kiley is one who believes that race will be a major factor in the election.

"White voters are much more reluctant to vote for blacks initially," said Kiley, noting that a black candidate's prospects will increase the second time around.

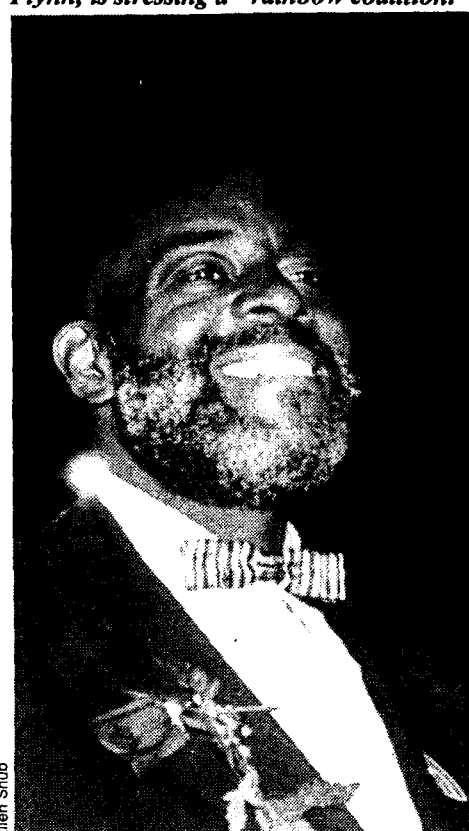
While he expects King to win an impressive 25-30 percent of the white vote, that will not be enough for him to win, Kiley said. In other major cities with far more blacks, black candidates have been able to win with 20 percent or less of the white vote.

To gain new supporters, King has tried to cite his experience in building coalitions and his consistent, unswerving commitment to left causes. Flynn, meanwhile, has tried to hold on to his lead by emphasizing his experience and knowledge of city government.

Supporters on either side acknowledge that King's actions and votes give him more solid left-wing credentials than Flynn, an opponent of abortion who once favored capital punishment, opposed gay rights and supported former conservative Massachusetts Governor Edward King.

But Flynn has received more endorsements, including the support of most unions (such as the Boston Teachers Organization), key groups like the Boston Tenants Organization and the majority of state representatives from Boston. Also, on November 8 both Boston daily newspapers endorsed Flynn.

"I think the unions have been real im-



Ellen Shub



Ellen Shub

portant," said Snyder, when asked about labor's organizational work for Flynn.

But King got the endorsement of liberal U.S. Rep. Barney Frank, who had endorsed Dennis Kearney in the preliminary.

The Flynn-King campaign has already brought milestones to Boston: thousands of people have registered to vote, the contest has been basically free of racial tension and it has been a campaign marked by home-styled, grassroots politicking rather than slick television advertising.

It has also been a campaign between two individuals who haven't followed the standard course in outlining their positions. "Neither of these guys is going to be dominated by anybody," said state representative Thomas Valley of Boston.

Peter Ajemian is a Boston freelance journalist.

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November

6

1945—HUAC begins an investigation of seven radio commentators. HUAC spokesperson: "The time has come to determine how far you can go with free speech."

1968—At an RMN victory party, advance man J. Roy Goodearl: "Why don't we get all the members of the press and beat them up? I'm tired of being nice to them."

1976—Disclosure of Operation Shamrock: since 1947, RCA Global, ITT World and Western Union International have made international telegraph traffic available to the NSA.





**T**HE 1980 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION fulfilled political expectations of a bygone era in many ways, at least one of them positive: American women, who supported Ronald Reagan in markedly fewer numbers than men, finally emerged as the independent voters they were expected to become before they won the right to vote in 1920.

Karl Marx, for example, didn't believe capitalist nations would grant women suffrage, because their vote would so drastically challenge the status quo. Jane Addams joined the suffrage movement when she became convinced women voters would be a powerful reform constituency. And 1920 Democratic presidential nominee James Cox, campaigning the first year women voted in a presidential election, sought their support with the slogan, "The mothers of America will stay the hand of war."

The following decades appeared to prove them wrong, as women voted much the same as men in the major elections of the next 60 years. But 1984 may prove them prescient. The "gender gap" Ronald Reagan inspired in 1980—8 percent fewer women than men voted for him—has developed into a divergence between men and women at every level of national policy, from the Grenadian invasion to environmental protection.

Trying to explain the emergence of an independent women's vote and its impact is like standing between two mirrors: it is hard to know which is reflecting what, or where images begin and end. But as pollsters, political scientists, campaign consultants and feminist activists examine the trend, some conclusions emerge:

- The gender gap is especially important because of women's numbers in the electorate. Already the majority, they're now voting at higher rates than men—six million more cast ballots in the 1980 election. Along with a predicted voting surge by anti-Reagan "have-nots," a strong women's vote holds the key to a Democratic victory in 1984.

- The gap is clearly attributable to women's expanding place in the workforce and the rise in the number of female-headed households. Both have given women a new set of interests and an increased stake in political life.

- While war and peace are important concerns, the economy seems to be the cutting edge of the gap. Single working women are Reagan's sharpest critics, and women of all strata are united in disap-

proval of his economic policies.

- An independent women's vote can't be separated from the women's movement, which fought the barriers to women's emergence into the public realm, and helped them understand it when they got there.

### The peace vote.

From the beginning, suffragists and male politicians alike expected voting women to usher in a more humane, equitable politics. In 1920, the Democratic Party tailored its presidential campaign to the new female voter, publicizing its stands on issues like child labor, illiteracy and the League of Nations, concerns especially pronounced among women.

But the strategy was fruitless. Although researchers had found and would continue to find that women's views on political questions differed from men's, especially in the areas of social welfare and war, the differences weren't expressed in the voting booth.

When small gender gaps have emerged in the last three decades—women favored Dwight Eisenhower in 1952, Richard Nixon in 1960 and George McGovern in 1972—the divergence was clearly on the issue of war and peace. Each time they backed the candidate who appeared most able to get or keep the country out of war.

Those gender gaps were small, however, and not even dignified with a name. Ronald Reagan's woman problem has gotten a lot more attention. While in 1980 men favored Reagan over Jimmy Carter 55 percent to 36, women split almost evenly, 47-45. Most pollsters considered the gap the result of women's fear that Reagan was more likely than Carter to get the country into war.

It might have stayed a manageable problem, to be addressed in 1984 election strategy perhaps, if not for several developments. As the president's term progressed, women's opposition was harder to cast in war-and-peace terms—they differed with his economic, environmental and civil rights policies as well. Then in 1982, nervous Republicans had their worst fears confirmed when anti-Reagan sentiment among women translated into anti-Republican votes in congressional

and gubernatorial races. Women favored Democrats in those races by margins as large as 20 percent, 4 to 6 percent higher than the male Democratic vote in what was a decidedly anti-Republican year.

The 1982 election results also undermined the strictly war-peace analysis of the gender gap, since foreign policy issues figured in only a few races, and in none of the governors' contests. Economic concerns took center stage in 1982 and have persisted in polls surveying Reagan's approval rating in 1983.

Women don't think the Reagan economic program is working. They express greater concern about unemployment than men do. They oppose further military spending hikes and social program cuts. They believe government should provide for those who can't care for themselves and also support government services that reach beyond the poor—employment training programs and day care, for example.

Perhaps most significant are women's economic perceptions. Women polled tend to believe that the Reagan program has hurt them more than helped them. They're less convinced than men that the recession is over and economic recovery has begun. Women are less likely than men to believe the inflation rate is falling.

### Reality gap.

Those differences help establish what may be the best explanation of the multi-issue gender gap: the fact that women are leading lives very different from those of the previous generation of women as well as the current generation of men. As they move into the workforce, women confront specific problems and face discrimination just because they are women. More of them are trying to head households in a society that still reserves most jobs that pay a "family wage"—enough to support children—for men, even though only 15 percent of American families fall into the traditional mother-stays-home-while-dad-works "norm."

Republican pollsters, in the wake of the party's 1982 losses, found the deepest aversion to Reagan among working women between the ages of 25 and 54, either divorced or separated, with some college education but no degree, who

"probably interrupted their education for marriage and then had the marriage dissolve, leaving them...extremely vulnerable, without the support of either an education or spouse."

Because the gender gap is smallest between married men and women, William Schneider of the conservative American Enterprise Institute likes to call it a "marriage gap." Schneider sees anti-Reagan sentiment as a measure of women's vulnerability, and he believes marriage represents more security to women than employment. "Women have achieved economic independence only recently and it doesn't feel very secure to them. They believe they need economic protection, and Reagan is doing away with the programs they think provide it," Schneider notes.

While feminist analysts don't buy the marriage gap, pointing out that married women approve of Reagan less than single men, they agree with Schneider about women's economic vulnerability. "Women are more likely to think the government should create jobs because they're worried about their jobs," says Eleanor

**NO  
STONE  
LEFT  
UNTURNED**

*This is the seventh in a series of articles on the women's movement.*

### Series editors:

Roberta Lynch and  
Emily Young

Smeal, former president of the National Organization for Women (NOW). Reagan has not only cut public assistance and job-training programs that women depend on, Smeal notes, but he has also shifted the budget to the military from areas like health care, education and social work, hurting even better-paid career women. "Women know defense jobs aren't for them," she says. "That's why the social workers are organizing. That's why the [National Education Association] is endorsing Mondale."

The many ways Reagan's redistributive budget has hurt women bear enumerating. Two-and-a-half-million women have fallen below the poverty line since his election, and two of three impoverished families are now headed by women. The unemployment rate among female heads of households has jumped 40 percent. Public assistance cuts—food stamps, AFDC, Medicaid and Legal Services—disproportionately hit women, as both recipients and providers of those services.

No longer just sociological jargon, the "feminization of poverty" now rolls off the tongues of the Democratic candidates as they press for women's votes. And polls indicate that poor women are deeply anti-Reagan. Rutgers political scientist Roberta Sigel, who studied poll data from the 1982 elections, found all women unconvinced that Reagan's economic policy was helping the country, "but women whose income is lower are particularly concerned and pessimistic."

But because low-income and minority men tend to dislike Reagan as well, the political gap between men and women is largest among the relatively well off. Another Rutgers political scientist, Susan Carroll, studied 1982 election results and found that a gender gap favoring the Democrats was largest in states with the highest number of well-educated managerial and professional women. While men of that class believe Republican policies favor their self-interest, Carroll notes, women aren't convinced.

Their skepticism may have economic roots. Well-educated and career-minded, they're still making less money than men of similar background. Reagan's budget shift has hurt managerial women as well. Feminist political theorist Zillah Eisenstein notes that the pre-Reagan public sector employed 49.9 percent of American managerial women. But most important, Sigel believes, such women are more likely to recognize and experience sex discrimination and to oppose a president

Illustration by Al Brunettin

Story by Joan Walsh

## GENDER GAP

# WOMEN UP THE ANTE





and a party that tolerate it. "They're more likely to be irritated by the discrimination pattern, whether it's political, legal or economic," Sigel comments.

### Realignment.

Already women's anti-Reagan conviction has led to a strong shift in party identification. While, according to CBS News polls, men favor the Democratic Party by an eight-point margin, there is an 18-point spread among women. "The original gender gap in the 1980 presidential vote has become a partisan difference," concludes CBS News survey director Kathleen Francovic.

Republican strategists are taking the shift seriously, as women's turnout rate rises and the gender gap widens. Campaign consultant Susan Bryant, in a study for the Republican Senate Campaign Committee, found that women's turnout is rising even in the South, where rates have traditionally lagged behind the rest of the country.

In Texas between 1978 and 1982 more than twice as many new women voters registered as men; the rate was nearly identical in North Carolina. Exit polls in 1982 and other surveys show that Southern women tend to share the anti-Reagan, pro-Democrat leanings of the rest of the country's women. Given the South's role in electing Reagan in 1980, Bryant and colleague Vincent Breglio have warned the Republicans that increased women's registration there is bad news.

*American Political Report* publisher Kevin Phillips, a Nixon speechwriter who shaped his "Southern strategy" in 1968, is even more concerned. Phillips estimates that, out of the 46 to 49 million women who will vote in 1984, Reagan will win two million less than he did in 1980, while the Democrats should increase their female vote by three to five million. "There's no significant offset elsewhere in the electorate," Phillips concludes.

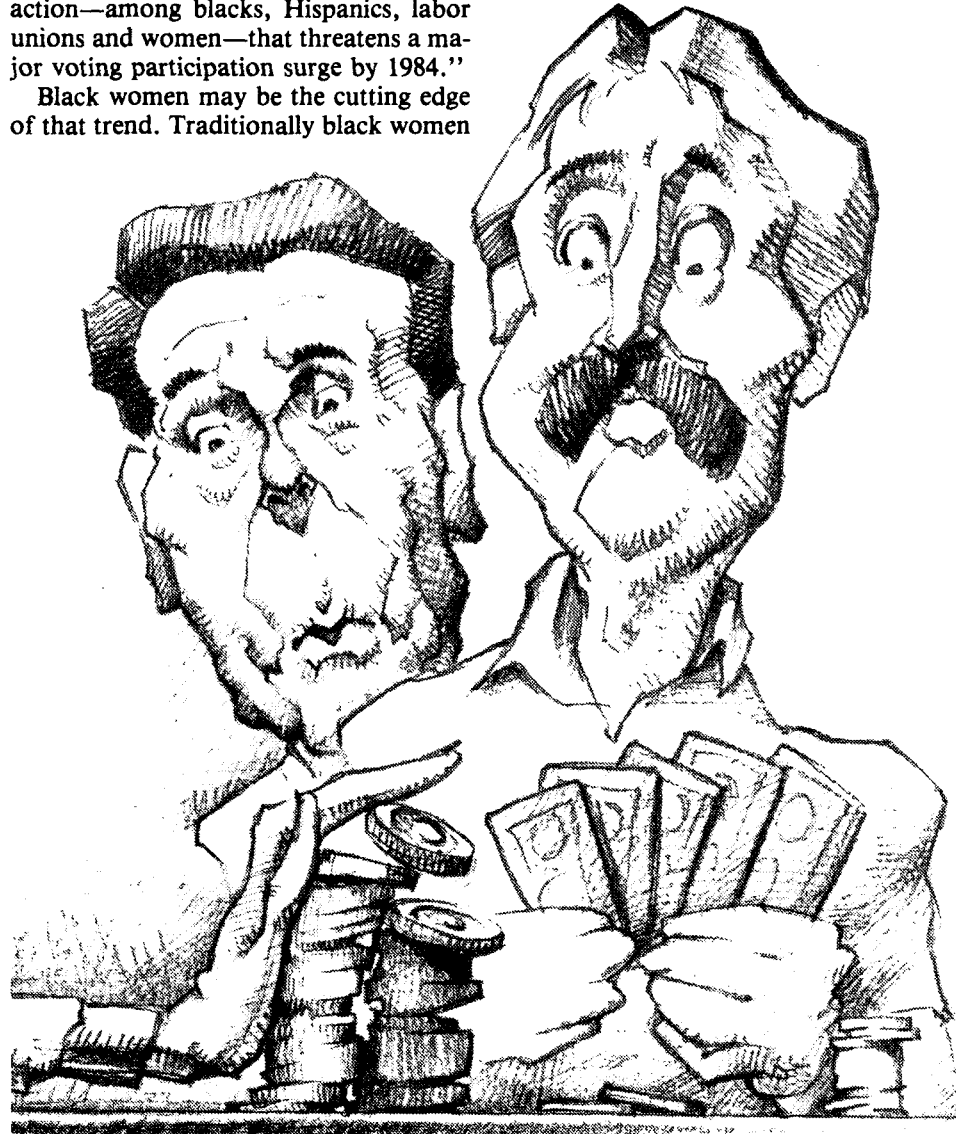
Increased registration and voting by

other anti-Reagan groups, particularly blacks, may give the gender gap critical mass, Phillips believes. The headline of a July, 1983, *Congressional Quarterly* article, "Have-not Surge to Polls: Major Force in 1984 Elections," tells the story. Phillips, who sees a reversal in the decline in public participation that has kept voting rates sliding downward since the mid-'60s, predicts the Reagan administration will mobilize a "political/economic reaction—among blacks, Hispanics, labor unions and women—that threatens a major voting participation surge by 1984."

Black women may be the cutting edge of that trend. Traditionally black women

have voted at lower rates than whites or black men, a fact that analysts have attributed to their low socio-economic status, education level and sense of political influence and importance, the chief determinants of voting behavior. But since the late '60s they've increased their political participation, turning out at higher rates than black men in 1976 and almost at the level of white women in 1982.

That development confounds all pre-



dictions of who votes and why. But as Marjorie Lansing and Sandra Baxter, authors of *Women and Politics: The Visible Majority*, point out, black women's real-world role and reliance on social services have given them a stake in government that balances their deep sense of political impotence and distrust. That's becoming true of women generally.

It should also be noted that Reagan gave the disenfranchised a quick lesson in the importance of the ballot: his election has produced a material difference in the lives of the rich, middle class and poor that's a more convincing argument for voting than any grassroots campaign could muster.

### Sexual-class consciousness?

The Democrats and Republicans will likely do their part to maximize or minimize the gap (see sidebar). But women themselves will have the most to do in determining its long-term impact. At the upper levels of the organized women's movement the strategies are very clear. NOW is playing politics at the big-stakes table, pledging to defeat Reagan by endorsing a Democrat but gambling for a whole women's rights agenda—a woman vice president, backing for women candidates, better support for the ERA and economic equity legislation—in exchange for its financial and organizational support. The National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) will lead the campaign for a woman vice president, and in the process get women into a better position to bargain for cabinet appointees and women's rights legislation with a new Democratic administration. (See *In These Times*, October 12 and October 26.)

Yet women's groups, including NOW and NWPC, aren't just negotiating the spoils of the gender gap with male political leaders. It's the grassroots focus of feminist political activism that's the most remarkable. The Women's Vote Project (WVP), a coalition of 55 women's groups, including mainstream organiza-

*Continued on page 12*

## The gap's party lines

sional candidates in 1984. Traditionally, Republicans have done well by women candidates, pouring the party's considerable resources into their races. But former Republican National Committee Co-Chair Mary Crisp says, even with its promises, the Reagan-led party isn't doing nearly what the Republicans used to do for women candidates, even before they had a woman problem.

"We ran seminars, conferences and outreach programs," Crisp says. "They've done none of that until recently. In 1978 we could show that of 63 newly elected women legislators across the country, the vast majority were Republicans. Our ERA extension effort was coming out of the RNC office. We had really made a commitment to women, but one sweep in Detroit erased the whole thing. It saddens me."

Republican women activists with the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) are preparing for a platform fight at the 1984 convention, proposing to include support for the ERA, reproductive rights, pay equity and a rule change making half the delegates women like the Democrats instituted in 1972. But Crisp notes, "If it's a Reagan convention, it'll mean nothing other than to say there are people in the party who support these views."

Will Republican women, who lag some 20 points behind Republican men in their support for Reagan, cross over in large numbers to support his Democratic opponent? "There's no consensus," says Crisp. "Women will balance party loyalty with their own interests when they reach the ballot box." But Republican women did cross over in 1982, Crisp notes, "and many of us couldn't bring ourselves to vote for Reagan in 1980."

What the gender gap may have done

is to put women in a position to counterbalance the influence of the New Right within the Republican Party. "The party may feel it can survive without 90 percent of the black vote, but they can't get into that situation with women," comments Republican Pat Bailey, a Federal Trade Commissioner. Even though, given Reagan's almost inevitable candidacy in 1984, women will have to wait to wield real influence in the party again, many Republican women believe that in an interregnum they would have an important voice in determining the party's new leadership and direction.

"If Reagan didn't run I think you'd see Howard Baker and Robert Dole and Jack Kemp going all out for the women's vote," predicts Pat Goldman, former head of the NWPC's Republican Task Force. Courting the women's vote would probably force the party back to the center on social issues as well as economics. That's a change from just a few years ago, when the main concern about 1984 was how to maintain the allegiance of the newly mobilized religious right and its political leaders.

In the Democratic interregnum, meanwhile, women are playing a crucial role. The major presidential candidates turned the July NWPC convention and NOW's October conference into horse-shows, trotting past the membership showing off their women's legislation, female staff members and other femin-

ist credentials, all swearing to consider a woman running mate.

At the national committee level, the machinery is in gear to capitalize on an anti-Reagan women's vote next year. A Women's Vote '84 task force, chaired by Democratic National Committee political director Ann Lewis, will try to identify women's issues and activists on a local level that can help channel the gender gap to the Democrats. Lewis also pledges that the party will do more than it has in the past to support women candidates. The Eleanor Roosevelt Fund was established this year to channel party money to women.

"The gender gap does not mean women have given us their proxy," she notes. "But their voting is increasingly Democratic, and that's a real shift. We're building all of our programs now to acknowledge the changing nature of our constituency."

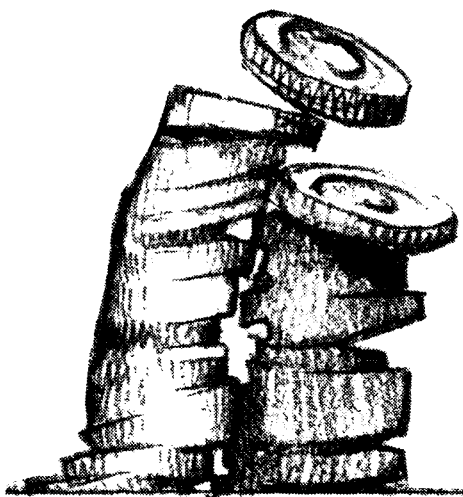
Given that the organized women's movement has committed itself to defeating Reagan, that leaves feminists with very little choice but to back his Democratic opponent, which could be an undesired bonanza for the party. But few see themselves becoming Democratic Party hostages.

"The Democratic Party has taken women for granted, and that's a mistake," says Bella Abzug. "Women are identifying with the Democrats because they more nearly reflect our views on issues. But if they are mealy-mouthed, women won't turn out. They can't take this vote for granted."

NOW President Judy Goldsmith, smarting at coverage of the group's October conference that depicted NOW members as "fools for buying [the Democratic candidates'] lip service," says feminist leaders "understand the political establishment very well."

"They didn't welcome us with open arms. It is our voting power that's opening doors for us, not any revelation that truth and justice require equality for women. Our independence is very dear. We know if we fall into any party's pocket, we lose all credibility."

—J.W.





# Grenada

Continued from page 3

Soviet Union and Cuba that is similar to the relationship between Mozambique and these countries. The Grenadian government was closely aligned to the Soviet Union and Cuba—it saw itself as part of the "Socialist bloc" of countries.

But Cuba and the Soviet Union influenced, but did not control Grenada. Neither country was committed to Grenada's defense. Grenadian leaders constantly referred to Cuban, Soviet and Nicaraguan practices in their discussion of what should be done in Grenada. One Central Committee member complained about the public's receptivity to the Voice of America's interpretation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Soviet shooting down of the Korean airliner.

Grenada's relationship to Cuba and the Soviet Union was not as close in these respects as the relationship of Guatemala or Honduras to the U.S. One would be far more justified calling these countries American colonies than in calling Grenada a Soviet or Cuban colony.

## Grenadian Marxism-Leninism.

The documents shed some light on the split in the New Jewel party that took place in September. This split pitted Bishop and his followers against Bernard Coard and his.

According to Cathy Sunshine, the co-author of *Grenada: a Peaceful Revolution* and a staff member of EPICA, a religious task force on the Americas, the split stemmed from a "difference in style and tactics" rather than conventional left-right differences or differences in allegiance to Cuba and the Soviet Union. Both Bishop and Coard were close to the Cubans. Both favored a mixed economy for Grenada emphasizing agriculture and

tourism. Coard had negotiated the IMF loan.

But according to Sunshine, Bishop's model of leadership was "personalistic." His model Castro. Coard was an advocate of a vanguard Marxist-Leninist party that would carefully steer the country by means of elaborate networks of mass organizations responsible to the party.

Neither Bishop nor Coard believed that the economy was in trouble. Grenada's real growth during the 1980-82 world recession years had been 3 percent annually, far in excess of its neighbors, and unemployment had been cut considerably from the 50 percent it had been when Bishop took power. But Coard and his followers, citing the lack of popular interest in the mass organizations that the party had formed, believed the party was in crisis, and they blamed Bishop.

A.W. Singham, a political scientist at Brooklyn College and authority on Caribbean politics who taught at the University of West Indies for 10 years, believes that the Grenadian regime was enduring the kind of "mid-term crisis" characteristic of many Caribbean regimes. Singham believes that the basic problem that the Grenadian party faced was the inadequacy of the "Westminster model" of government borrowed from Britain.

According to Singham, in tiny countries with high unemployment, the Westminster model of parliamentary government quickly degenerates into government by patronage and gangs. A politician like Grenada's Eric Gairy, who took power through election, ensures his own perpetuation through command of state jobs. Singham believes that Bishop and Coard were looking for a new model.

But from the documents it is clear that by September the debate over Grenada's future had taken a pathological turn. The minutes are dominated by Coard's faction. One speaker after another in the September 14-16 meetings declared that "the party is crumbling," "the party faces disintegration" and "the loss of state power is only a few months away." They blamed Bishop and his lax leader-

ship style for the crisis and recommend that Bishop share his leadership with Coard and that the party "adopt a Leninist level of discipline."

The Coard faction interpreted the party's crisis in classic left-right terms. They branded their opponents "right opportunists" and "social democrats" and claimed they were "Marxist-Leninist" acting on behalf of Grenada's nearly non-existent working class.

Coard's version of Marxism-Leninism relied on an uncritical adaptation of Soviet history to Grenada. In a September 26 debate, Austin Hudson, one leader who would eventually lead the coup against Bishop, drew an analogy between the Coard faction's struggle against Bishop and his followers and the Soviet Union's struggle against "right opportunism" in Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland today.

"As long as the party is taking a Marxist-Leninist path, right opportunism will be a constant struggle," Hudson concluded.

The exact circumstances of Bishop's ouster and murder are still clouded. What is confirmed is that a crowd of about 3,000, huge in a country of 100,000, sprung Bishop from house arrest and advanced upon Fort Rupert, where the Revolutionary Military Council was headquartered. The Hudson faction claimed that Bishop's followers fired first. Associated Press correspondent Alistair Hughes and others claim that the military opened fire.

After Bishop's death, the Revolutionary Military Council issues a statement branding Bishop and his followers "known counterrevolutionaries and Gairyites." "Comrades," the communique read, "these men who preached for us that they had the interests of the Grenadian people at heart did not have one member of the working class controlling their criminal operations."

The communique concluded, "Long live the Grenada Revolution! Forward ever! Backward Never! Socialism or Death!"

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P A R I S

**D**URING A RECENT VISIT TO Belgium, French President Francois Mitterrand came up with a *bon mot* about Euromissiles and pacifists. "The missiles are in the East and the Pacifists are in the West," he said, as if that ended the discussion.

In the Netherlands, Wim Bartels of the Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV) told a French television interviewer that he was "most surprised by this simplistic statement. In five years' time, with the currently planned modernization, the number of French and British nuclear missiles will be greater than that of the Soviet intermediate-range missiles now targeted on Europe. There is no reason for the French to be so arrogant." (French television did not, of course, broadcast the interview.)

Mitterrand likes to talk of the needs for "balance" between the superpowers and gets indignant at the very suggestion that French forces might be counted in some sort of balance.

The Russians don't see it that way, but, of course, the Russians must be wrong. A Soviet propagandist, Victor Alexandrov, said the following: "There are not two opposing countries in Europe, but two opposing alliances. The sole difference is that in the Warsaw Treaty the Soviet Union alone possesses nuclear weapons, whereas in NATO three countries have them." But let's not pay any attention to an apologist for the "evil empire."

As Mitterrand told the Bundestag in January, "One can only compare what is comparable," and France's nuclear force cannot be compared to that of the superpowers.

A more recent guest in Bonn was Paris mayor and French right-wing opposition leader Jacques Chirac, who told an audience of Christian Democratic Union (CDU) leaders at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation: "In less than five years, with the system of multiple warheads, the British nuclear force and the French nuclear force will have increased considerably. They will represent a force and a deterrent capacity which will be veritably important, decisive." And in a subsequent interview in *Le Monde*, Chirac said, "It must not be forgotten that France and Britain's strategic nuclear deterrent means are growing rapidly, which explains, among other reasons, their categorical refusal to see their forces counted in the American-Soviet relationship."

Thus, according to Chirac, the reason for refusing to count the French missiles is not that they are "not comparable," but that they *are* comparable, and France wants to be able to go on increasing the number without anybody comparing or counting or paying too much attention. A count could be a step toward a freeze that would stunt the rapid planned growth of the French nuclear potential.

But that was not the only interesting point Chirac made to the Germans. His main one was the need for a European nuclear force with Germany sharing responsibility. Once the French and British forces have been expanded, he said, "one can envisage in the foreseeable future a European-American deterrent guaranteeing the security of Western Europe. But one cannot imagine it without Germany participating directly at the level of responsibility. One cannot imagine that it is the English and the French who are going to assure Europe's nuclear deterrence. The problem of Germany's direct participation in central questions is a problem that arises and that must be solved."

Alain Clement reported in *Le Monde* that Chirac's speech was warmly received by the German conservatives.

The French Socialist government showed signs of annoyance, even alarm. Defense Minister Charles Hernu declared huffily, "The French government has no lessons to receive from anyone when it comes to Franco-German cooperation" and pointed proudly to plans to build a joint anti-tank missile and perhaps a combat helicopter and a new missile to

Lionel Delvingne



French rightist leader Jacques Chirac says West Germany should participate in the nuclear defense of Europe.

## IN THE WORLD

### NUCLEAR WEAPONS

# French, U.K. arms arsenals growing

succeed Exocet as well.

Jacques Huntzinger, an arms questions specialist who is in charge of international relations for the French Socialist Party, called Chirac's remarks "irresponsible." "To say in Bonn that we have to think of a European nuclear defense in which Germany could have a right to participate is not serious," he said. Serious or not, Huntzinger's own position on these questions is so complicated that few people have been able to make heads or tails of it.

#### "European independence."

Clearer, at least, is the position of Socialist Jean-Pierre Chevenement, who said he thought Chirac was wrong to say that France and Great Britain could not take care of deterrence in Europe. This would be possible especially with the new multiple warheads that are coming up. Chirac had raised a real problem, he said, but "put it badly," because "the truth is that many European countries will not accept letting Germany have access to nuclear weapons. It's true of the USSR, but it's true of many others...."

Chevenement suggests that the "independence of Europe" can be ensured by French and British nuclear forces.

But what are the Germans to make of this? Can they entrust their security to a Franco-British nuclear force?

By an extremely curious coincidence, the question received a resoundingly negative response on the same day Chirac ar-

rived in Bonn, October 17. In an interview in the Spanish newspaper *La Vanguardia* that was immediately picked up and splashed across the German press, 72-year-old retired French General Pierre Gallois, theoretician of the Gaullist *force de frappe*, said France should not take part in the defense of Germany in case of a war with the USSR.

Asked what France should do in case the Russians invaded West Germany, Gen. Gallois replied, "Not lift a finger. Hold still. Let time go by so the Soviets can solve the German problem while we protect France. I prefer to have the Soviet Army on France's border to allowing France to be destroyed." There would be "no other choice" than to "leave Germany to the Soviets."

Moreover, he said he was "sure" that the Soviet Union would invade Germany some time in the next 20 years.

The coincidence was extremely curious because Gallois and Chirac belong to the same political family. Gallois, who in his retirement has been a counselor to Dassault aviation, has been the most conspicuous contributor to Marie-France Garaud's International Geopolitical Institute, which has been making an effective contribution to reviving the Cold War in France (see *In These Times*, May 18). Marie-France Garaud is a former close political ally of, and is believed by some to be a stalking horse for Jacques Chirac, who began his political career as a family

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friend and protege of Marcel Dassault.

Gallois' surprising remarks sound like a provocation meant to call German attention to a *problem*, just as Chirac arrived with the suggestion of a *solution*. The problem is that Germany will not be defended if available nuclear forces are controlled by other countries, even if they are allies, such as France. That is the old Gaullist maxim: everyone looks out for himself. The solution is for Germany to have control of nuclear weapons.

In Germany, Chirac stressed a couple of selling points. One is that, as the French example shows, having one's own nuclear force is the best antidote to "pacifism." Chirac said that "the impression felt by public opinion in our countries that the fate of Europe is, in the last analysis, only a stake in the rivalry between the two superpowers offers a favorable terrain to pacifist propaganda."

The second, which was phrased discreetly, is that Europe must bear part of the burden for protecting its own interests, including those in the Third World, which entails "coordination of policies on energy and raw materials supplies." He did not say this outright, but an implicit feature of "Gaullist" doctrine is that possession of nuclear arms is the condition for a free hand in the Third World.

#### Truth or illusion?

Both of these arguments hinge on creating in public opinion an illusion of national independence by following policies that in fact are being forced on Western Europe by the U.S. Liberal Atlanticists have been shoved out of policy making in Washington by a *Realpolitik* school that sees the advantages of a certain "Gaullism."

In France, the government and especially the media have sold almost the whole population on the illusion of French national "independence" based on its own nuclear arsenal. In reality, as a close aide to External Relations Minister Claude Cheysson admitted to a recent caller, the only area of independent foreign policy left to France is selling arms to Iraq.

The ambition to remain in the nuclear power club has bound France ever closer to the U.S., forcing it to propagate ever more illusions and lies. A sad example is the presence of French military forces in Beirut. Officially there is the pretense that they are there to prove that France is still an important guardian power in Lebanon. In reality, France has no policy of its own, and is there to make the presence of the Americans more acceptable politically, both in the Mideast and in the U.S. The fact that French soldiers were blown up along with U.S. Marines should help American public opinion accept sending American boys to "help allies" in the Mideast "defend European oil" and the U.S. gets further embroiled in the forthcoming Persian Gulf war.

In West Berlin, Chirac offered the Germans another illusion: German reunification, which he said he was for. This is ironic, because the French press has been furiously condemning the German peace movement for allegedly seeking reunification. In fact, since under Willy Brandt, the Federal Republic accepted the post-war boundaries, nobody has seriously spoken of reunification in Germany. At most the peace movement wants further detente so that relations can be normal between the two German states. Yet here comes the French right telling Germans that reunification is a fine idea.

Willy Brandt, among others, discovered long ago that no matter what they say, the French are determined supporters of "Yalta" insofar as it means the permanent division of Germany. Social Democrats realize that the belligerent demand for reunification, accompanied by an arms buildup, is the surest way to tighten the Soviet grip and deepen the division between the two German states. It makes reunification impossible—except by a war of liberation, which, with existing armaments, could only mean the total destruction of Germany, East and West. Thus the SPD advocates detente, arms control and disarmament as the on-

Continued on page 30



# Women

Continued from page 9

tions like the League of Women Voters and the Association of American University Women, is kicking off a massive voter education project this month that will concentrate on women who are underrepresented at the voting booth—poor, undereducated and elderly women.

Building on pilot projects by Bella Abzug's Women USA and the National Association of Social Workers (NASW), the WVP will attempt to register women at day care centers, welfare offices, unemployment lines and senior citizen centers. "The result is that the gender gap will be enlarged, but you'll also see a swell in turnout among poor people and minorities," predicts Carol Sheffer-Hartmann of NASW.

That implicit identification of women's interests with those of the "have-nots," as the voting surge phenomenon may be labeled, raises a question that has to be examined outside of traditional two-party terms. With their stands on foreign policy, disarmament, social spending and civil rights, women are coming to look like a natural liberal-left constituency.

"Women are coming into their own, and they're disagreeing with the way society is put together," says Bella Abzug. "What the gender gap shows is that there's a constituency here, that electabil-

ity equals the right position on war and peace, economic equity, the environment, unemployment. Militarism and feminism can't co-exist. You can't afford pay equity, child care, flextime, better Social Security benefits, all the things that women need, with a large military budget."

Feminist theorist Eisenstein sees the gender gap developing a "politics of sexual class consciousness" among women, who are increasingly coming to see themselves holding "secondary status in whatever economic class they belong to." As women come to articulate their "economic class needs"—and vote for those interests—their demands will be increasingly incompatible with the prevailing social and economic order, Eisenstein predicts.

But Harvard political scientist Ethel Klein isn't ready to see women as "the vanguard of creating a more publicly conscious state. I think women just have a very different bottom line. Ronald Reagan has redefined the national debate in terms of 'Should there be social spending?' not 'How much?'" Women may support social spending and welfare programs, Klein says, but they're not calling for drastic spending increases either.

Maybe not yet. But Barbara Ehrenreich, feminist writer and co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), believes the gender gap can be a building block of a mainstream politics that rehabilitates the idea of government as provider. "We need a New Deal for women, a set of government programs to address

the specific problems of women," Ehrenreich told a recent DSA conference on feminism. But that set of demands would have to include economic opportunity and assistance for all who need it, she noted. "Feminists have to push for what government can do."

Whatever the ideological meaning of the gender gap, one certain effect will be to elect more women to office and that can't help but have public-policy implications. A recent study of women officeholders completed by Rutgers' Center for American Women and Politics director Ruth Mandel and colleague Susan Carroll offers interesting evidence that women tend to be more liberal than men, even in public office.

The study included an attitude survey that asked women and men politicians to take stands on women's issues as well as on such questions as whether the U.S. should seek military superiority over the Soviet Union, and whether the private sector would perform in the public interest if left alone. A gender gap emerged on virtually all the issues, with women, especially at the state and national level, taking more liberal positions than men. Black women politicians were the most liberal, but even Republican women stood to the left of their male counterparts.

Mandel credits women officeholders with placing a whole new set of issues on the political agenda, from the feminization of poverty to comparable worth to rape and domestic violence. "These policy concerns didn't exist before, and

they're being carried and dealt with mostly by women in office," Mandel notes.

## Feminism's role.

It may turn out that women have done nationally what they appear to have done in the Republican Party—emerged as a countervailing force to New Right extremism and Reaganomics. While the pollsters were hailing the country's conservative drift in the dark months after the Reagan election—among men, at least, Republican identification was climbing—it took them a while to notice that women weren't following.

It has taken them even longer to notice the role of the women's movement in developing that political independence. In all the elation over the attention the gender gap has won women, there's a note of alarm among feminists when discussing how quickly political analysts have dismissed the importance of "women's issues" in creating it.

"The pollsters ignore the intensity factor," says Smeal. "They say that men and women support the ERA and choice in similar numbers, and don't look at how that affects their vote." Men who take feminist positions are less likely than women to have these issues be the deciding factor in their vote, Smeal notes.

There's evidence for Smeal's contention. Among men and women ERA supporters, 10 percent fewer women voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980. And in 1982 it was the machinery of the organized women's movement's ERA campaign that, after the amendment expired in June 1982, turned into a strike force to elect Democrats the next November.

"They say the gender gap is based on economic, not women's issues, but they ignore that economic issues are the base of the women's movement, whether it's pay equity, Social Security reform or the ERA," says NOW President Judy Goldsmith. The gap cuts across class lines "because women of every class experience discrimination just because they are women," Goldsmith says, and the women's movement has been the force that has made them realize that's unacceptable.

A September 28 CBS News/*New York Times* poll may be the first to credit women's issues with a major role in creating the anti-Reagan women's vote. When asked why Reagan might be less popular among women, more people gave his women's rights stand than any other answer. In a follow-up question, women were asked whether there was anything about Reagan that bothered them as women that wouldn't necessarily bother a man. Of the 26 percent who said yes, more pointed to Reagan's women's record than any other explanation.

Whether or not polls can quantify it, the women's movement has unquestionably created the conditions for women to emerge as an independent voting bloc. The expansion of women in the labor force—in part due to economic necessity, in part to women's desire for independence—and the rise in the number of women-headed households have made women come to see their interests differently. Feminism, says Ethel Klein, has helped women define those interests, feel the confidence to articulate them and then seek attention for them in the public realm.

"We've seen the emergence of a woman's consciousness that lets them make their private problems public demands," Klein says. "Their changing experience has allowed them to accept a feminist analysis, and the feminist analysis has given their experience an ideological context."

Ruth Mandel puts it this way. "What's expressing itself as the gender gap is rooted in fundamentally different patterns of experience and values between men and women. But it follows 10 years of the organized women's movement, which placed a new emphasis on the importance of women speaking out, taking part in public life, taking action in the public world. Then you have a president who speaks from an earlier period, who diverges from women's rights positions."

Concludes Klein: "Ronald Reagan created the gap, but the women's movement created the environment for women to begin asking these questions."

IN THESE TIMES

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# MAGNIFICENT



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Back row: David Moberg, Grace Faustino, Diane Scott, Tom Hanigan, Paul Comstock, Bill Rehm, Sheryl Larson, Joan Walsh, Jay Walljasper



Lester Schlosberg



Adelia Price



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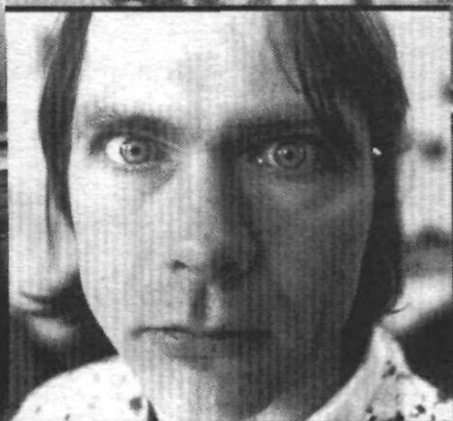
Paul Batistas & Ray Parrish



Hugh Giblein & Ruth Greenspan



Jim Rinnert & Bo



Miles DeCoster

With this issue, *In These Times* begins its eighth year of publication and of steady improvement and growth. We believe it is a magnificent achievement in light of the general swing to the right of American politics. And we also believe that in the upcoming presidential election year we will have an increasingly important role to play in representing the American left.

Survival is no longer the name of our game. In 1984 and beyond, we expect to improve and be more widely read and needed. Unlike most publications, we can only do this with the active help of our readers and friendly organizations. Our anniversary greetings reflect that support. We're deeply grateful for it.

(Not pictured: John B. Judis, Diana Johnstone, Dennis Morgan, Jim Montalbano, Barbara Schuler)





# A Salute...

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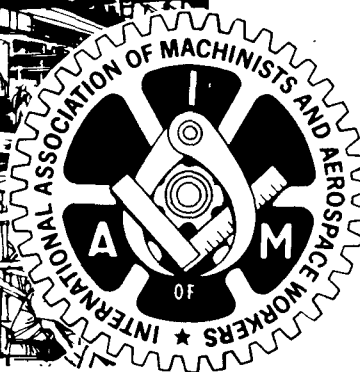
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**Owen Bieber**  
International  
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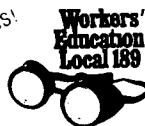
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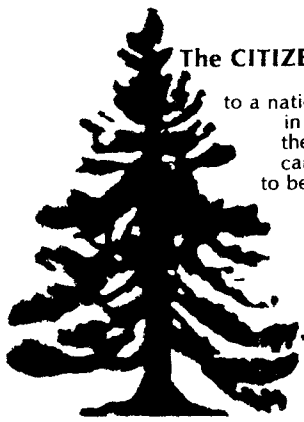
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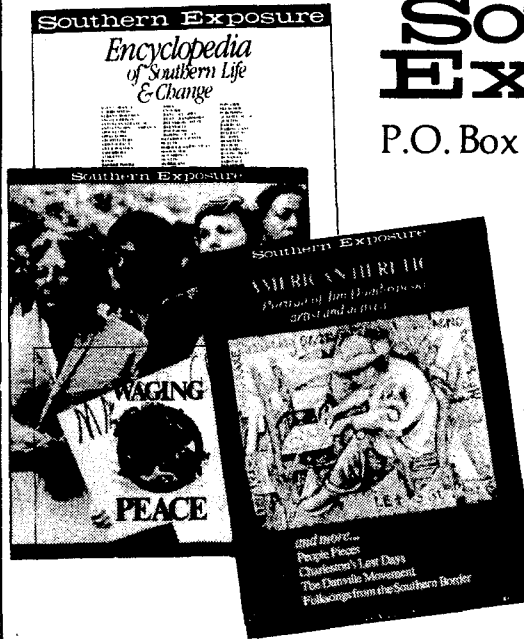
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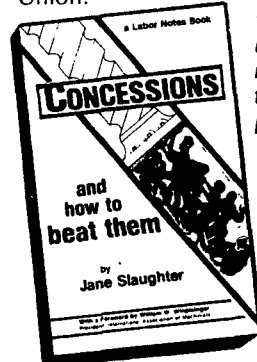
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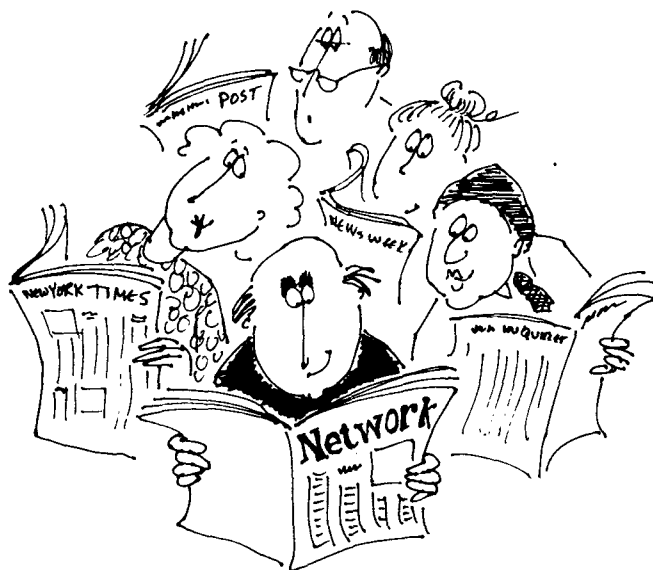


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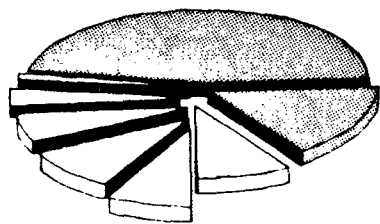
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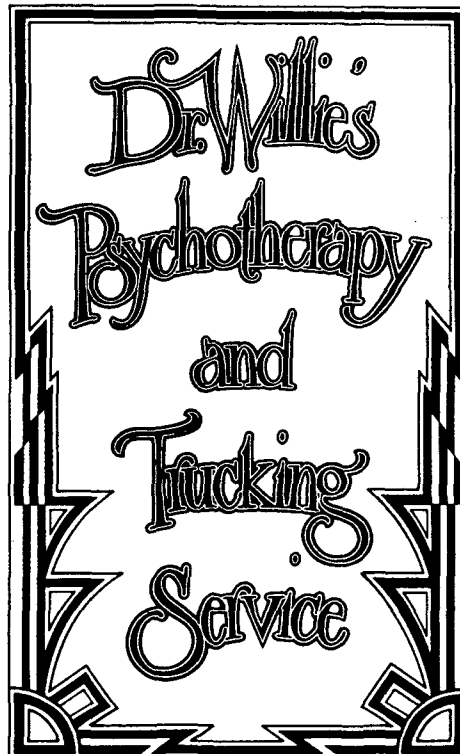
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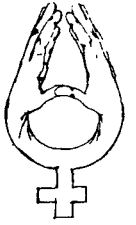
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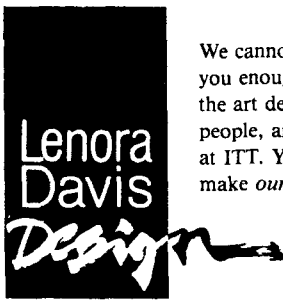


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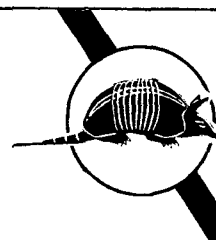
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—Linda Mauro



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# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## HOW ABOUT IT?

ONE COULD ACCUSE *ITT* OF "SEC-Tarianism" in your reply to the letter by Donald Busky (*ITT*, Oct. 19). I would like to read articles about the Socialist Labor Party (the oldest Marxist organization in the U.S.), the Communist Party (surely their union activities in the '30s and '40s merit some praise) and an organization I really don't know about—the Communist Labor Party.

Yes, each of these groups has in your words "a small group of adherents," but they are, like us, dedicated leftists. Come on, let's read about them. Maybe they will write about us!

—Michael Blumenthal  
Former Chair,  
Socialist Party, Los Angeles

## DSA

THE REPORT BY JOHN JUDIS ON THE Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) convention (*ITT*, Oct. 26) was unfortunately limited by what the author found of interest. He made several weak choices. It is inaccurate, or at least incomplete, to describe the debate as the reds vs. the greens. The struggle is between persons who see the socialists struggle as being only a class issue (with class largely defined as union membership), and those who reject such reductionism and choose to work with the working class in its many manifestations (race, gender, immigrants, etc.). It is important for the future of the left to debate this in a pluralistic organization such as DSA. It is inaccurate to assume that this represents previous organizational affiliations. Former NAM and former DSOC people are on both sides.

A significant event was missed in the report. DSA became an anti-racist organization. Both parent organizations had made efforts in this direction, but this first DSA convention established a constitutional 25 percent minimum quota for Third World people on the National Executive Committee, a quota for Vice Chairs, and received the first copies of the new DSA journal, *Third World Socialists*. The earlier work *Women of Color* by the Feminist Commission has been sold out and is being reprinted. DSA had previously established itself as a significant socialist-feminist organization. The additional developments of Afro-American, Latino, Asian Pacific, Native American and Anti-Racism Commissions, and their coordination led by Manning Marable, establishes the basis for a socialist organization that can reach out to all of the working class.

—Duane Campbell  
Co-Chair, DSA Anti-Racism  
Commission  
Sacramento, Calif.

## THE ROSENBERGS AND THE CP

AS ONE OF THREE FORMER Communist Party functionaries interviewed by Ronald Radosh and cited in *The Rosenberg File* by Radosh and Joyce Milton presumably to corroborate its conclusions, I'd like to comment on the way the book used the interview with me. My comments do not bear on the guilt or innocence of

the Rosenbergs. They do bear upon Radosh's reliability.

I'm quoted in the book as having told Radosh: "By and large, anyone who became a spy for the Soviet Union was completely separated from the Party." The implication, plainly, is that the Party colluded in spying and I was aware of it. In *The New York Review of Books* (Sept. 29), Radosh gilds the lily: "Max Gordon gave us background on how Communists in general who have been recruited for spying were handled by the American CP."

This is precisely the opposite of what I told Radosh in a telephone conversation in mid-1978. I did not imply that the CP—with which I broke a quarter century ago—had any association with spying. In my nearly 30 years in the Party I had never had the slightest indication of any such association and had always considered this among the more vicious canards about the Party.

Radosh called to ask if I knew anything about the Rosenberg case. I said I had never heard of the Rosenbergs until their arrest in 1950, and had no personal knowledge of them or the case. To a more general question about Party policy toward members engaged in espionage, I responded that I knew of no association between the party and espionage and I doubted it existed.

Radosh then posed a hypothetical question: supposing a Party member did become a Soviet spy, would he be separated from the Party? Having established that I had never heard of such a case, I responded that I would presume so. This abstract speculation, expressly unrelated to any knowledge or experience, is transformed in the book into a contrived quotation inferring Party collusion in espionage and my awareness of it.

In further speculative chit-chat, Radosh and I agreed that the Soviet Union no doubt recruited non-Communists as spies, and that a dedicated Soviet sympathizer in the Party might volunteer his services to the Russians, particularly under World War II circumstances. But my speculations about hypothetical situations were no more informed than those who had never been close to the Party. Yet the book uses these speculations with a spurious authority to prop up its case against the Rosenbergs.

The book also surmises that the Communist Party came to the Rosenbergs' defense only after it was convinced they would not talk. This makes no sense. In the book's terms, Party failure to come to their defense would tend to discourage their presumed resistance; nor was there any way the Party could be convinced they would not talk as execution day approached. I'm cited in the book, accurately in this case, as telling Radosh about Manny Bloch's pleading with me to enlist *The Daily Worker* in the Rosenbergs' defense and responding that the decision had to come from the Party. Discussions on the matter suggested that Party leaders—as Cedric Belfrage put it in *Something to Guard*—were "too pre-occupied and threatened by [their] own trials" to come to the Rosenbergs' defense. The leadership was then expecting the Party to be outlawed and was immersed in preparing for this.

Reflecting Radosh's current extreme anti-Communist animus, the book engages in some free-wheeling conjectures about the CP's, and the world communist movement's reason for joining the Rosenberg campaign. Em-

phasis is placed on an alleged intent to divert attention from the Slansky executions in Prague in December, 1952. Again Belfrage's recollection, which parallels my own, is rather more accurate: the campaign became too big for any left group to stay out of it. My recollection is that the extraordinary response to Bill Reuben's series on the case in *The National Guardian*, during the summer and fall of 1951, triggered the Party's entry, well before the Slansky trials, amid considerable self-criticism for having failed to come in earlier.

Once the Party, with its then-shrinking membership of 40,000 to 45,000, threw itself into the campaign, it was instrumental in developing a high-powered committee to mobilize communist parties and others abroad, as it had done in the Scottsboro defense. Communists abroad responded with alacrity to this clearly perceived Cold War struggle. Much in the Communist Party's conduct generally merits criticism, even condemnation. But it is neither necessary nor helpful to distort history or interviews, in order to shape it to personal and social paranoias.

As noted earlier, my comments are confined to a few areas where I was personally involved. None of it bears on whether or not the Rosenbergs participated in espionage.

—Max Gordon  
New York, N.Y.

## WHAT IS LIBERATION?

RECENT LETTER WRITERS SUGGEST that you cover the "men's liberation movement" (*ITT*, Oct. 19). As long as the men's movement changes only men's personalities, I urge *ITT* not to cover such excuses to avoid fighting women's oppression by men. Men do have the "visible power" the letter writer suggests, and they must use it to stop their fellow men from doing violence to us women. Until then, please continue to spare me stories about how men have learned to cry.

Also, Sheryl Larson's piece on Japanese fashion (*ITT*, Oct. 19) makes no sense to me. How can a model made to look like a battered woman via "lips stained a color resembling a four-day-old bruise and the head wrapped with scarves the way a nurse bandages someone suffering from a bullet to the brain" look "futuristic"? This is not, as Larson suggests, a "liberating attitude." This is a celebration of the beating, bruising and shooting of women. This is pornography.

It further appears that in Japanese

fashion women models become the ultimate object: "A rack on which to hang a Miyake design." Women's bodies are no longer seen even as objects. Now we are not seen at all ("why not make [the clothes] the focus of attention instead of the body?"). This is thought to be "a vision that for years has been sorely lacking in fashion."

—Maria Pastoor  
St. Paul, Minn.

*Sheryl Larson replies: I assume Pastoor has not seen the film The Road Warrior. Otherwise, she would know that the "futuristic" look to which I refer could also be called post-nuclear holocaust chic. A quick perusal of recent magazines turns up fashion spreads in which the models look as if they've just experienced a nuclear attack. This trend has been apparent for several fashion seasons. Unfortunately, I did not have the space to comment on it.*

*But apparently Pastoor did not read the article very carefully. If she had, she would have noticed that after I describe the way the fashion magazines choose to present the Japanese designs, I write: "Japanese experiments such as the ones described above end up looking overdone, silly and immediately expendable."*

*It is also unfortunate she believes I was implying that Japanese designs make women the "ultimate object." Quite the contrary. Many of the loose and layered Japanese designs offer the woman wearer increased freedom of movement and draw less attention to the body—something that I contend "has been sorely lacking in fashion for years."*

## CORRECTION

In the October 26 issue of *In These Times* featuring a story by our South African correspondent Jan Pager we misidentified Nana Mahomo of the AFL-CIO's African American Labor Center. The identification should have read: "In the South African press Mahomo has been reported to be linked to the CIA." We regret the error.

*Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.*

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# PERSPECTIVES

## If throwing money at poverty won't work, try radiation

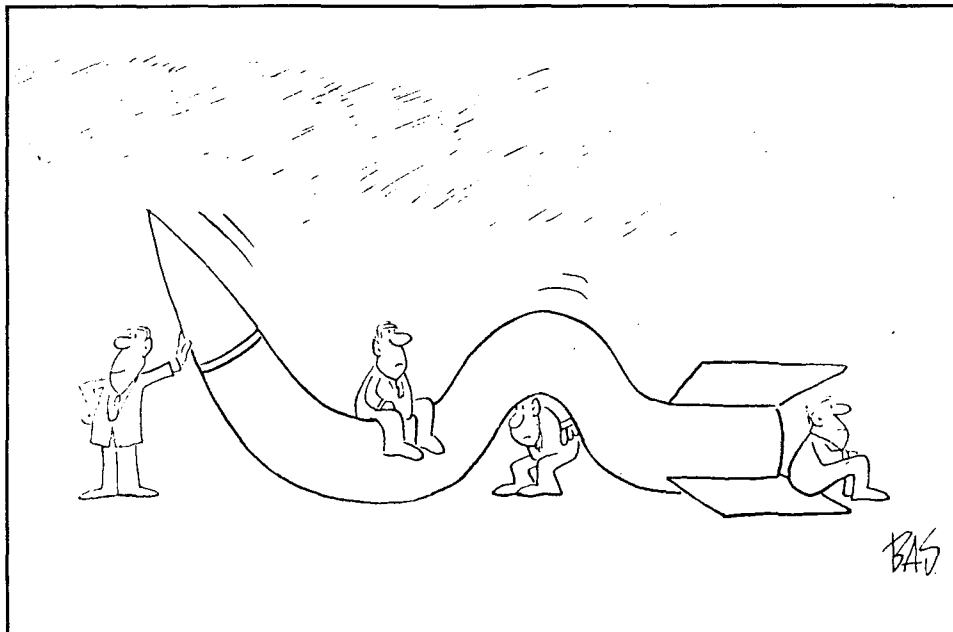
By Michael Betzold

**A**MERICA'S 34.4 MILLION poor people could all rise above the poverty line with the \$43 billion it costs to build 10 MX missiles. But it would be a bureaucratic nightmare tracking the poor folks down, and there's a more reliable way of winning the war on poverty.

Dr. Rudolph Penner, head of the Congressional Budget Office, told a House panel in October that every American below the poverty line of \$9,682 annual income for a family of four could become officially un-poor with one-tenth of the money that's going for 100 MX missiles. The MX, you recall, is the lumbering, multiwarhead rocket that will scare the Soviets into unconditional surrender if only the Pentagon can find a large enough patch of cactus out West to hide them under.

But taking \$43 billion from the MX pot would leave us with only 90 percent of what President Reagan calls "Peacekeepers." Are 90 of them enough, considering recent Soviet behavior? What if the Russians mistake 88 of them for civilian airliners and shoot them down on the way over? No, we'd better build all 100—it's a nice even number and besides, you know how fast those babies rust out.

But just for the sake of speculation, suppose our hard-bargaining president went to the mat and played hardball with the Rooskies in Geneva and got



them to agree to dismantle their entire air force and give us the Black Sea resort coast in exchange for us scrapping 10 of our MXs. Could we then use the \$43 billion in savings to end poverty in America? No, says Penner, because the task of determining who is eligible to get the handout would hopelessly boggle the federal bureaucracy.

Our government has no trouble figuring out exactly how many poor Americans exist—34.4 million. It can even tell us that's an increase of 10 million from five years ago (boy, those poor folks proliferate like rabbits, don't they?). But when it comes to actually finding these people and getting them their checks, forget it. A mail carrier, for one thing, has

no way of distinguishing a truly below-the-poverty-line poor person from a cheater. Rather than risk a poverty-cheat getting a share, it would be better to spend the \$43 billion to put high-powered laser beams on spaceships so the Russians will think twice about attacking us.

Even if the government had a way to distinguish real poor people from fakes, say, through chemically sensitive badges that would turn green when a person's bean intake dropped below a certain level, simply giving money to the poor would be wrong. It would destroy their work incentive, Penner reminds us. Thirty-four million Americans might suddenly stop believing in the value of good old-fashioned nose-to-the-grindstone hard work.

We can't let that many people lose their faith in the American way. After all, every pizza delivery boy has a mathematically equal chance of ending up as the owner of a major league baseball team, and every American girl has the same opportunity to one day get fired from her job as a TV news anchor for failing to wear sufficiently seductive underwear on camera.

### Wiping out poverty.

The problem of poverty can't be solved by not building more nuclear weapons. But it could be solved through a selective application of nukes. Even a limited nuclear war could wipe poverty from our nation in a few hours. Our government has estimated that 40 million Americans would die in a middling nuclear exchange with the Soviets, and since only 34.4 million Americans are poor, that would leave us with a pretty good cushion. Since bombs kill people but leave money intact, there would be a considerable income boost for the survivors.

The beauty of nuclear war is that it solves the eligibility problem as well, so there would be no nightmares for the bureaucracy. Everyone living in central cities or near military installations would automatically qualify for incineration, and everyone else would be eligible for irradiation.

It's true that nuclear war might destroy the work incentive of poor people, but the survivors would have plenty of incentive because there would be so many jobs burying the dead and things like that.

So let's keep building all those MX missiles. Everyone knows you can't make poverty go away by throwing money at it. That short-term solution doesn't address the larger problem. But in the long term we can make poor people go away by throwing money at the Pentagon. With luck and the wind blowing in the right direction, we might make a good dent in the bureaucracy as well.

## DIALOG

### "Irangeles" not a typical refugee community

By Mansour Farhang

**W**ILLIAM BEEMAN'S commentary on "Irangeles" (*In These Times*, Sept. 14) projects how-ever unintentionally, a false impression that Iranians who have fled the Khomeini regime are an affluent group. It should be noted at once that rich Iranians who left their country during or after the revolution are not political refugees in the sense of being pursued or persecuted by the government. The unprecedented repression of the fundamentalist rulers of Iran is primarily directed at supporters of the 1979 revolution who demanded equity and democratic political participation after the fall of the monarchy. Since the ouster of former President Bani-Sadr, more than 20,000 have been executed and at present there are approximately 40,000 prisoners of conscience in the country, virtually all from progressive groups.

The vast majority of the estimated 500,000 Iranians who have become refugees in the past two years were among those most actively anti-Shah. Many of them spent years in the Pahlavi prisons. They include teachers, artists, writers,

journalists, engineers, doctors, merchants, administrators, lawyers, academicians, students, recent university graduates, clerical workers, managers, bureaucrats and the like. Many have lost loved-ones to the violence of the revolution. Some of the professionals are older and have never lived abroad before. They cannot, without retraining and learning a foreign language, practice their skill in other countries.

Most of these culturally middle-class refugees crossed the border on foot into Turkey or Pakistan. Thousands are stranded in these countries for lack of funds or failing to obtain visas to a Western state. Some have managed to reach France, West Germany, Austria or Spain. Few have savings or income of their own. As a whole, they live in desparate financial situation. Those who are given official refugee status in Europe receive some aid from the host government. The rest are simply dependent on friends, relatives or humanitarian organizations. Efforts are underway to get recognition and assistance from the United Nations Commission on Refugees.

"Irangeles" is a product of contemporary imperialism as a transnational system of privilege. The oil price increases of the '70s led to a massive transformation of wealth from the middle and lower

classes of the industrial world to the already affluent sectors of the oil-producing countries. The 200,000 residents of "Irangeles" represent about a fifth of the approximately one million Iranians, out of a population of 38 million, who made big money during the '60s and '70s. Before the revolution, these people lived in "islands" of wealth and imported culture in Iran with little sympathy for the values and frustrations of the general public.

Today the morbid atmosphere created by the policies of the regime has made life in Iran unbearable regardless of one's economic status. Otherwise, even the "morally" conservative counterparts of the "Irangeles" residents who seem content in the Islamic Republic are adding to their wealth at least at the pre-revolutionary rate. Under the fundamentalist regime the oil money is still being spent in such a way that the holders of private capital benefit the most, while the relative deprivation of the masses is on the increase.

Fundamentalism is not opposed to capitalism and exploitation; it is only hostile to the Western cultural penetration of the society and wants to return to an imagined puritanical past. It is now clear that in all his activities against the Shah, Khomeini was reacting to the observable manifestations of pseudo-modernization in the cultural realm, rather than to political and economic oppression. He does not even pretend to be concerned with anything but "moral" issues.

One peculiar characteristic of rich Iranians under the Shah was that they ultimately had no political power. The situation remains the same under the new regime. Iranian capitalists constitute a class in themselves, but not for themselves. The contention that the state is merely an instrument of the propertied class has never been true in Iran. For example, life for the upper echelon servants of the Pahlavis was ostentatious but it could also be

nasty, brutish and short. The Shah did not invent the divide-and-rule principle, but he used it so effectively (to prevent possible threat to his reign from within) that when the regime was challenged from without the supposedly loyal men around him could only think of their individual selves or families. If the residents of "Irangeles" are now developing a sense of togetherness, it is a new experience for them because in their native land they related to one another in a suspicious or distrusting manner.

It was in this atmosphere of powerlessness and insecurity that the road to "Irangeles" was constructed. Rich Iranians began to make investment and buy residential property in the U.S. in the early '70s. The despotic nature of the Shah's rule and the complete domination of the state apparatus by the Pahlavis made the rich sufficiently concerned about the possible end to the plunder that they began to prepare for the eventuality. Ironically, they had a more accurate sense of what was coming than the Iranian revolutionaries.

The preference of the "Irangeles" residents for Persian breads, spices and herbs is understandable, but contrary to Beeman's expectation such expatriates are not the likely candidates to give birth to an Iranian cultural renaissance. While in Iran, their favorite television shows were *Kojak* and *Days of Our Lives*. Hope they will do better in "Irangeles," but it is doubtful that they will go much beyond that. "Irangeles" is too inauthentic to do anything except to maintain its pretentious lifestyle for another generation. The most redeeming political act its residents can perform during this period is to save their own children from the pathetically conspiratorial view of the revolution they expose to each other.

Mansour Farhang is professor of International Relations at Bennington College.



By Daniel Lazare

**I**N 1939, WHEN HE WAS HUNGRY for an excuse to invade Poland, Adolf Hitler hit upon the clever idea of dressing up S.S. troops in Polish uniforms and sending them out to attack a German radio station in the border town of Gleiwitz. Hitler then denounced the "attack" as yet another instance of Polish aggression and launched the invasion that marked the formal start of World War II.

In 1983, Ronald Reagan, hungry for an excuse to invade Grenada, declared that some 800 American medical students on the island were in danger of being kidnapped *en masse*. As evidence for this fantastic claim, his underlings pointed out that the new military regime in Grenada had shut down the island's airport the day before, thus preventing the departure of a planeload of Canadians who were anxious to escape the growing political turmoil gripping that island.

Unfortunately, the airport was not closed that Monday, October 24. Four charter planes had left that day without incident. Moreover, the Canadians' chartered flight was canceled not by the Grenadian military government, but by neighboring Caribbean states who, by that point, were busy with the Americans laying plans for the invasion. Nonetheless, the president, whose breezy approach to details and facts is already well known, declared the next morning that "a large number of our citizens were seeking to escape the island, thereby exposing themselves to great danger" and sent in the Marines.

Thus did the U.S. manufacture the perfect excuse for a war with one of the few Third World countries it could be sure to conquer in a few days. The concoction was not quite as elaborate as the ruse carried out by the Nazis some 44 years earlier and it has not led to a new world war, but it was in a similar spirit. It calls to mind such earlier looked-up pretexts for war as the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which was probably engineered by the British to maneuver the U.S. into World War I; or the sinking of the *Maine*, which most likely was arranged by budding American imperialists eager for a war with Spain.

War is like that. It breeds lies, especially by those who launch invasions and first strikes and then feel a need to demonstrate to the world that they were only acting in self-defense. Atrocities must be manufactured. Blame must be shifted. Victims must be made to look like criminals.

*War breeds lies, especially by those who launch invasions, then try to demonstrate they were acting in self-defense.*

*Atrocities must be manufactured.*

*Here is a rundown of the most glaring mistruths put forward by the White House to justify its return to old-fashioned imperialism.*

The Reagan administration, it should be added, is very good at this game. For more than two months now, ever since the downing of Korean Airlines Flight 007 on September 1, it has been playing the mighty wurlitzer of its propaganda machine with consummate skill. It had virtually the entire world on its feet in indignation over the cold-hearted destruction of a civilian aircraft by the Soviets. Later it became evident that the Russians, made crazy by regular overflights by U.S. espionage aircraft and hampered by their own inadequate radar and defense systems, had shot down what they believed to be a spyplane—but the news elicited hardly more than a shrug. The damage had already been done.

The second movement of the American

thing. Indeed, everything suggests that was the last thing on his mind.

The differences between an Ayatollah Khomeini and a Hudson Austin are immense. One was the leader of a revolution that was building in intensity with each passing day. The other was the head of a revolution that had run its course and was at the point of collapse. One was a figure of public adulation. The other had massacred a large number of unarmed civilians and had then been forced to declare a 24-hour curfew—the kind of extreme step that only a political leader without a friend in the world would undertake.

Dr. Geoffrey Bourne, dean of St. George's Medical School, described how Austin came to see him the day before the

and 40 or 50 professional military men. The British contractor for the airstrip, meanwhile, continues to assert that it could not have been used as a military installation.

The quantity and quality of arms found on the island indicates that Grenada was simply following the depressing path taken by so many Third World revolutions. The military sector turned out to be one of the chief beneficiaries of the 1979 revolution, both because of the genuine danger of external aggression and the need to solidify internal political control. One way to assure the support of a ballooning officer corps is to keep it satisfied with guns and recruits. The problem, however, is that once given a taste of power, military men usually find it hard

## PERSPECTIVES

### Reagan's seven big lies about Grenada

propaganda symphony has not met with the same extraordinary success, but it has still done quite well considering the affront to international law that the invasion of Grenada represents. Western Europeans reacted with shock and dismay, but the clamor has substantially subsided now that it is clear that the takeover was relatively quick and clean. The right wing, meanwhile, has rallied vigorously to the White House's defense. In Britain, Margaret Thatcher quickly dropped her chilly disapproval and congratulated Reagan for a job well done. "Whenever people have the yoke of Communism lifted I am delighted," she declared. "...To be perfectly honest, I am delighted that the people of Grenada are free."

The remark greatly cheered those who had worried that the Iron Lady was going a bit soft on Communism. It was also the closest that any major Western leader has come in a long time to an outright declaration of a holy war of liberation against the socialist bloc.

The pattern has been roughly the same in the U.S. Liberals made a fuss in the beginning, but most settled down as soon as opinion polls showed a dramatic boost in Reagan's popularity. Sen. John Glenn, one of the two Democrats most likely to face Reagan in the presidential election next fall, declared himself in support of the whole tawdry affair. Walter Mondale, the other most likely nominee, struck a more "balanced" position: he disapproved of the way Reagan had kept out the press during the first two days of the invasion, but otherwise held his fire. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) summed up the mood: "The move is popular and therefore there's no disposition in the Senate to be opposed to it."

Thus the steamroller goes on and on. As Reagan lurches from victory to victory, his foreign policy grows increasingly adventurist and bellicose. The lies will undoubtedly proliferate as Reagan gives us one, two, three, many Grenadas. Here is a rundown of some of the most glaring mistruths put forward by the White House in the invasion of Grenada to justify its return to old-fashioned, unabashed imperialism. (Unless otherwise noted all quotes are by Reagan.)

#### Lie No. 1: The threat of another Iran.

The accusation that Gen. Hudson Austin was another Ayatollah Khomeini and intent on taking the 800 students at St. George's Medical School hostage was the most potent accusation of all. It immediately triggered painful memories of the national trauma of 1979-81 when 52 Americans were held hostage in Teheran. Yet there is not the slightest shred of evidence that Austin was planning any such

invasion to assure him that both his school and students were safe. Austin, a prison guard who became a "general" because of his role in the 1979 revolution, told Bourne that his daughter was not speaking to him because of the death of Maurice Bishop. He was obviously a man on the run—completely alone, despised by even his own daughter, the last man on earth to lead an angry populace in an Iranian-style assault on St. George's Medical School. Even without the American invasion, Austin's days were numbered.

Further, it is abundantly clear by now that Reagan never even considered a peaceful evacuation of the students. The Austin government offered assurances of the students' safety, but they were ignored. The White House said later that the Grenadians could not be trusted. The cancellation of the Canadians' chartered flight by neighboring Caribbean states, which was then attributed to Austin, thus became the classic manufactured pretext for the start of military activities.

#### Lie No. 2: "We got there just in time."

Reagan's accusation that Grenada "was a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy" was equally cynical and fraudulent. Even discounting the out-of-date British Bren guns and the 1870 Marlin 30-30s, nothing has been captured by the invading forces to indicate an offensive military capability—no naval equipment or aircraft for an assault on a neighboring isle, not even much of an anti-aircraft defense for the much ballyhooed landing strip at Port Salines that Reagan said could be used for "Soviet-built long-range bombers." Initial reports of two battalions of Cuban troops also turned out to be untrue. The Cuban presence was exactly as Castro had described—about 790 people in all, including construction workers, most of whom had undergone military training at some point in their lives, diplomats, doctors and other professionals, agricultural technicians

to relinquish. Bernard Coard apparently sought to enlist this newly enlarged military leadership against Bishop. But he soon became a victim of his own intrigues when Austin turned against him and declared a "Revolutionary Military Council" of his own.

#### Lie No. 3: A Cuban-inspired coup.

In Reagan's medieval-theologic view, evil is done by the devil (in this case, the Cubans) or it is not done at all. Grenada, declared Reagan in his October 27 address to the nation, "was a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy. We got there just in time."

Yet, all evidence suggests that Cuba had nothing to do with the Bishop's overthrow. Indeed, Castro approached internal political developments in Grenada with some delicacy. He knew he could counsel and advise but never order, and when the rift between Bishop and Coard became open, he was careful to stand aside. On the other hand, Bishop's execution brought a strong, moving and quite personal denunciation. There was even sentiment on the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party for a complete break in political and diplomatic relations with the new Grenadian regime.

This unexpected coolness worried Coard and his supporters. "The Cuban position creates an atmosphere for speedy imperialist intervention," read handwritten notes of an October 21 meeting that have been made public by the Americans. The notes allude to the "deep personal friendship between Fidel and Maurice that has caused the Cuban leadership to take a personal and not a class approach to the developments in Grenada."

#### Lie No. 4: "Whether [Bishop's peace overture] was serious or not we'll never know."

Indeed, it was Castro who reportedly urged Bishop to attempt to smooth relations with the U.S., an effort that undoubtedly exacerbated political divisions in Grenada's ruling party. Among the more revolting passages in Reagan's October 27 address to the nation was the above off-handed dismissal of Bishop's peace-seeking visit to Washington in early June. Actually, the White House went out of its way to snub a highly popular national

*Continued on page 30*

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**Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality**

Edited by Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell and Sharon Thompson  
Monthly Review Press, 489 pp., \$12.50 paper

By B. Ruby Rich

This anthology arrives already bearing the aura of indispensability—an instant classic in the hot waters of the '80s most scandalously favorite subject. The volume exposes us to an almost overwhelming variety of analysis, history, fantasy and hypothesis relating to the subject of sexuality, both historically and in modern times. Don't linger. The book is required reading for anyone wanting to catch up on—and continue—the rounds of sex debates that have burned like a low-grade brush-fire in feminist circles for the past few years (most flagrantly since the notorious 1982 Barnard sex conference, which involved many of the book's contributors).

Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell and Sharon Thompson are scholars as well as feminist activists. The product of their collective labor shows a commitment to reason, history, truth and its consequences. In an unusually lengthy and painfully self-conscious introduction, the three editors conduct a tour of history: reviewing sexual attitudes and reassessing various sex theorists, providing a valuable history of both sex-on-the-left and sex-under feminism. They strike out most fearlessly when posing questions about sex in the various feminist debates of the '70s: "Was it the thick cream of life or did it curdle human relations?"

If the editors' version of history has a weakness, it lies in the tendency toward hegemony in the interest of theoretical tidiness. For all its flaws, in hindsight, was the sexual "revolution" really as false—giving women nothing—as they'd have it? For all its anxiety to be "politically correct," was '70s lesbian-feminism really as non-sexual, even anti-sexual, as now painted? Probably not. Despite such minor sins, the overriding virtue of the introduction is its brave attempt to establish an arena for discussion.

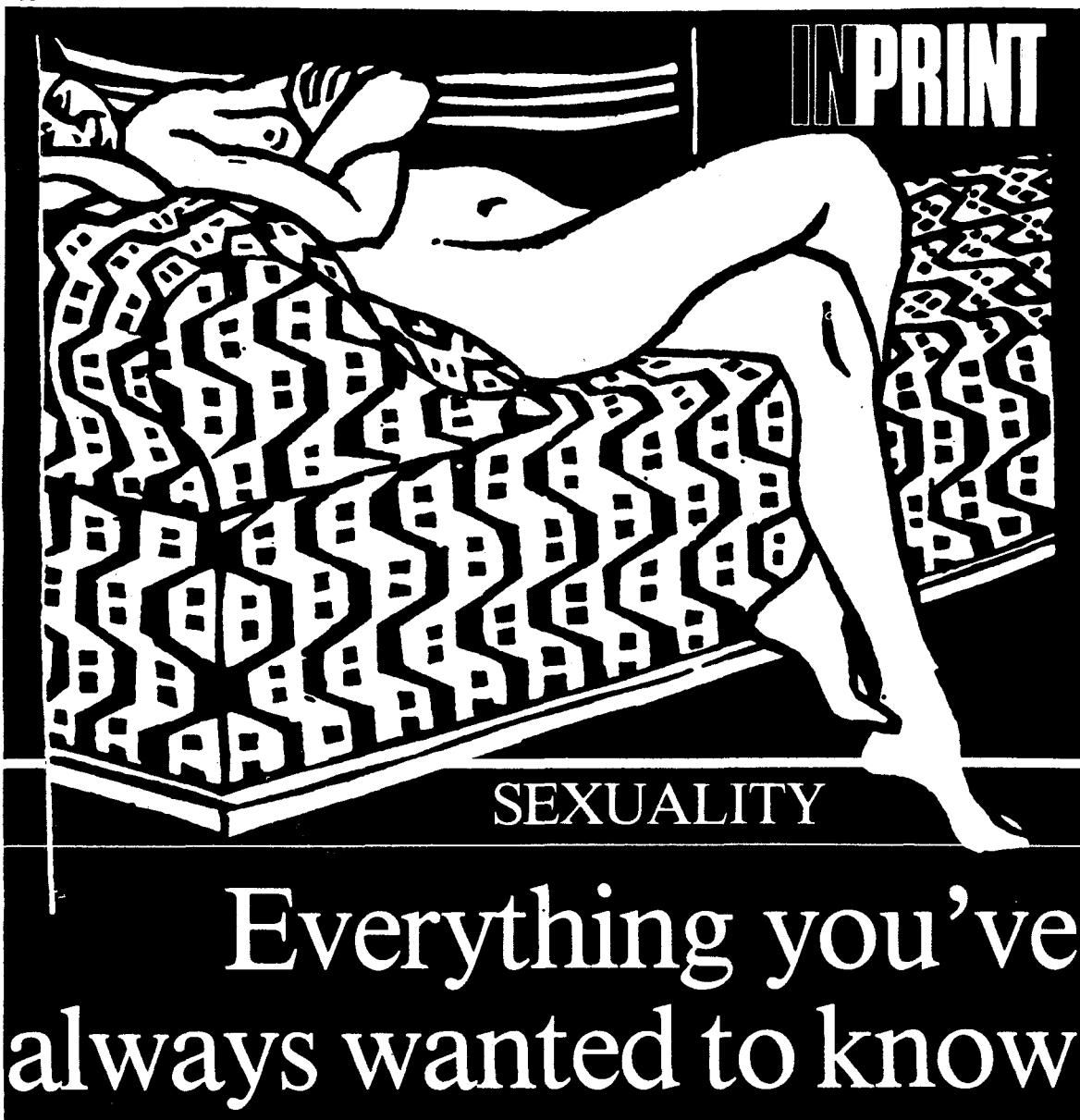
**Which side are they on?**

What is most exciting and rejuvenating about their anthology is its success in marshalling so much new information, hard-to-find articles and suggestive bits of fiction and autobiography. Reading through it literally forces many of the raging for-or-against battles into the background as insufficiently persuasive—and a book that can buttress its reader against the easy arguments of dogma is profoundly educational.

The editors do, of course, have a political perspective that can be gleaned from the introduction and their choices. They are clearly pro-expression, anti-repressive, sticklers for historical precedence, race-aware, class-sensitive and probably more apt to fall into sexual liberationism than any sort of sexual dogmatism.

Nevertheless, the game of "which side are you on" will be played with this anthology. The two clearest extremes have been omitted: neither WAP (Women Against Pornography) nor WAP-identified writings can be found; nor do Samois (the lesbian sadomasochism cult) nor its various members make an appearance.

There are more than 30 different pieces collected here, making



it impossible to offer up any in-depth critique. Several are articles, originally published in various journals of the past few years, that have become required reading for the initiated and hard to find for everyone else. Their collection here not only brings these key pieces to a wider audience, but also brings them into dialogue with each other: Adrienne Rich on "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," Ann Barr Snitow on "Mass Market Romance: Pornography for Women Is Different," Jessica Benjamin on "Master and Slave: The Fantasy of Erotic Domination" and Judith Walkowitz on "Male Vice and Female Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain."

These four pieces have gained in relevance and interest since their initial publication—they focus on subjects still under intense debate. The Rich essay redefines heterosexuality according to lesbian criteria and broadens the notion of lesbianism beyond the explicitly sexual. Snitow analyzes the popularity of Harlequin romances as a key to women's systems of sexual attraction, claiming romance as a womanly turn-on. Walkowitz holds up the 19th-century British social-purity movement's history as a cautionary tale to today's ban-the-porn squads that warns against looking to the state to carry out "street-cleaning" for women's own good. Finally, the Benjamin piece is central to contemporary disputes over power politics of lesbian sadomasochism. Her analysis of *The Story of O* does a fine job of explicating the deep erotic attractions that define sexual domination as a practice.

**Down the rabbit hole.**

Overall, the anthology brings order to its theme by grouping articles according to approach, subject matter or philosophy. The first two sections challenge an ahistorical definition of sexuality and undermine the philosophical underpinnings that pose sexuality as "natural"—located somewhere down the rabbit hole, safely protected from historical cir-

cumstance and social constructions of gender, family or taboo. In place of vaunted "natural" sexuality, these early chapters supply massive evidence to the contrary—that sexual mores, beliefs and norms are wildly mutable.

Ellen Ross, Rayna Rapp and John D'Emilio bring political, sociological and anthropological methods to this debate in their attempt to relate the state of sexual identity to shifting moral codes and economic conditions. In turn, Kathy Peiss, Allan Berube, Barbara Epstein, Ellen Kay Trimberger and Atina Grossmann uncover unexplored chapters in a range of essays that consider what was acceptable sexual behavior in different countries, periods or classes. Trimberger, in particular, uses the example of "modern love" in the Greenwich Village of the early 20th century to illuminate the workings of an ideology of sex as demonstrated on the pre-feminist playing fields of Bohemia. This opening section thus provides the framework for the rest of the book.

The central two sections take up extremely diverse issues. Anne Bobroff, Irena Klepfisz, Rennie Simpson and Myra Goldberg all contribute pieces on "the institution of heterosexuality," what they define as the organizing of sexuality into a single system, like capitalism, that poses as inevitable. In an added dimension Felicitia Garcia speaks about her own teenage pregnancy (as interviewed and transcribed by Sharon Thompson). In a section of fiction and poetry by Thompson, Nancy Harrison and Sharon Olds, the Olds poem is likely to provoke the most comment in its imagining of the comments of a tray of penises, entitled "Outside the Operating Room of the Sex-Change Doctor."

Several pieces deal specifically with the history of women of color. Barbara Omolade's "Hearts of Darkness" looks slavery straight in the eye, quotes the blues and reads the moral: "History would become all that [white] men did during the day, but nothing of what they did during the night." Jacquelyn Dowd Hall's essay is illuminating in re-

turning to us the lives of the fabulous "Lady Insurrectionists," reviving the example of Jessie Daniel Ames and linking a number of feminist writers into a comprehensive statement on lynching. E. Ann Kaplan has contributed the one film article in the anthology, a consideration of the recent psychoanalytic film theory.

The closing chapters delve into the midst of current controversies. The burden of feeding the imagination falls on the fiction and poetry—here as elsewhere—with selections by Carol Rosenthal, Jayne Cortez and Alix Kates Shulman. Carole Vance waxes cute on the subject of sex research. Amber Hollibaugh and Cherrie Moraga are rather the opposite, in their frank, tough, but frequently defensive dialog on sexual role-playing, originally a part of the controversial *Heresies* Sex Issue. Joan Nestle is equally provocative in combining her mother's "talking sex journals" from the '30s with her own politics of sexual freedom. Several pieces by Ellen Willis and Deirdre English provide historical markers to the current debates on abortion, pornography and male/female contracts.

Alice Echols strikes the anthology's one sour note with a crudely constructed attack on "cultural feminism." She groups togeth-

*This anthology opens up the sex debates—on neutral turf—that have burned like a low-grade fire in feminist circles in recent years.*

er Sally Gearhart, Adrienne Rich, Mary Daly, Robin Morgan and some dozen others, contriving a false "cultural feminist" hegemony from their writings and tries to equate their politics with Women Against Pornography and attacks on lesbian sadomasochism. She lambasts this "morally pure sisterhood" without any recognition of the critical debates inside this supposed bloc, offers no alternatives and holds out for an unspecified salvation in the bosom of "political theory." Her piece reads like a set-up and is, as a result, unconvincing.

**Historical bias.**

Generally, however, Snitow, Stansell and Thompson have succeeded in compiling an anthology that is both illuminating and balanced. Furthermore, the scholarly credentials of virtually every article are laid out plainly in the footnotes, providing an easy future course of study for the willing reader. Indeed, the footnotes are a natural assignment for anyone wondering what's up in women's studies in the '80s.

*Powers of Desire* does have one bias that supercedes all others—the historical. In this bias, the anthology reflects the emphasis that is at once the greatest strength and greatest weakness of the entire field of women's studies, which has remained most secure and powerful when resting on the solid earth of history. To be sure, the recovery of our lost history and its application to today's problems has been of lasting importance to feminism, precisely because this historical knowledge has been such a necessary component of our evolution, self-awareness, shaping of identity(ies) and forging of political strategy. Increasingly, however, the voice of history is becoming the dominant voice. Historical work has proliferated in journals and on bookshelves. I would guess that, together with literary criticism and theory, it represents the vast majority of all published feminist writing. We need it.

Why, then, complain? Precisely because we desperately need *more* than history. The past, yes, but the present and future, too. As a participant at this year's National Women's Studies Association Conference (June 1983), I was alarmed at the relative absence of the arts from the agenda and struck by the preponderance of concrete knowledge and/or lived experience. The verifiable and the quantifiable are major ingredients of any feminist work. But what of the ambiguous, the less definable, the non-verbal? Like film, video and the visual arts, the arena of sexuality poses special problems to any would-be analyst. More resistant to absolute definitions of meaning, these fields tend to exceed the parameters of easy political definitions. It is no wonder, then, that it has taken this long for the feminist discourse to begin to include the language of sexuality and to consider its politics.

In the past few years, too often, the desire for a language of sexuality has led feminists into locations (pornography, sadomasochism) too narrow or overdetermined for fruitful discussion. Debate has collapsed into a rumble, a gang-war fight between the Sex Cops and the Sex Criminals. Hooray for *Powers of Desire* for opening a real debate on neutral turf.

B. Ruby Rich, a feminist critic, is director of the New York State Council on the Arts and writes frequently on film and sexuality.



## The Politics at God's Funeral: The Spiritual Crisis of Western Civilization

By Michael Harrington  
Holt, Rinehart and Winston,  
308 pp., \$16.95

By Christopher Hitchens

Contrary to all interpretations from liberal to Stalinist, Karl Marx did not believe that religion was the opium of the people. What he did say, in his *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, was this:

*Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of the heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people. The demand to give up the illusions about its conditions is the demand to give up a condition that needs illusions. Criticism has plucked the imaginary flowers from the chain, not so that men will wear the chain without any fantasy or consolation, but so that they will break the chain and cull the living flower.*

This makes it plain even on the most cursory reading that Marx had a serious understanding of religious belief. He was anti-clerical and, especially in his writings on the civil war in France, he denounced the cynical way in which the ruling order deceived its subjects by means of a Christianity in which it did not itself believe. But, unlike many of his radical contemporaries, he did not hold that religion could be legislated away. Nor did he believe that mere advances in social or economic emancipation would make the supernatural redundant.

Michael Harrington's excellent study of this question confirms the wisdom of the authentic Marxist approach, against the vulgarizations of those who have succeeded him. Left to themselves, most thinking people have opted for a view that is in effect agnostic. Once the church loses its monopoly and becomes just another competitor in the battle of ideas, it loses everything else that makes for the domination of faith. Science has easily undone the creationists (who have been only a joke in this generation), but it has also demolished the assumptions about man's place in the universe that are necessary to sustain religion. Even those who still describe themselves as believers are living with doubts and compromises that would have been seen as unthinkable heretical only a few decades ago. Real, old-fashioned visceral faith is now found only in those countries where it is persecuted.

### Reason not to believe?

Still, as G.K. Chesterton once put it, when people cease to believe in god they do not believe in nothing—but rather believe in anything. It's not easy to regard agnosticism or atheism as naturally coextensive with progress when one surveys the wasteland of capitalist materialism, the sinister credulity of "cult" members or the hysterical adulation heaped on mortal leaders in parts of the Communist world. Chesterton was an unscrupulous Roman Catholic apologist but he had a point. Michael Harrington, who has honestly lost his faith—but is, I'm sorry to say, still nostalgic for it—wants to lay god decently to rest in order that we may mourn him properly and then see where we stand. As he puts it:

*A strident, anti-clerical atheism is as dated and irrelevant as*

*the intransigent anti-modernism of Pope Pius IX. Even more to the point, atheist and agnostic humanists should be as appalled by de facto atheism in late capitalist society as should people of religious faith. It is a thoughtless, normless, selfish, hedonistic individualism.*

I believe that I am right in identifying this as a statement of belief on Harrington's part. He has not lost his reverence for the religious life (recall his writings on Dorothy Day and the *Catholic Worker*) and he wants to preserve Christian values in a secular movement of community. This makes it the more interesting that, in one of his few mistakes, he confuses Hegel's term *aufhebung*. He renders it, in his appendix on Kant, as meaning "the culmination, the completion."

In fact, *aufhebung* was used by Hegel and Marx to mean the transcendence of an idea or a system of ideas. In order to retain Christian values (whatever they may be) while rejecting religious authority or the religious explanation of reality, one must reject Christianity itself. Socialism may be, as Harrington would like to argue, the "culmination" of those values as well as of the Enlightenment. But it has to start by understanding religion, as Marx did, the better to vanquish it.

Nor can one so easily say, as Harrington does, that the old anti-clerical battles are quite over. Whenever Western reactionaries are in a tight corner they proclaim to be defending "Christian civilization." The child martyrs of the Iranian army, drafted before their teens, are told by their filthy mullahs that an Iraqi bullet will send them to Paradise. The Polish workers were enjoined by their spiritual leaders to spend their spare time on their knees. What sort of advice was that?

When, watching *Man of Iron*, I saw the whole workforce of the Lenin shipyard sink to the ground at the behest of a single cleric, I knew that there would be no serious fighting when the coup or invasion came. And, sure enough, the Polish Church has made its Faustian pact with Jaruzelski. The list runs on—anybody who has seen an Israeli election knows that the mere mention of the holy places of Hebron or Jerusalem is enough to still the doubters and divide the dissidents. And everybody knows that the "Christian Democratic" parties of Europe have a reserve strength of religious iconography they deploy when they think nobody is looking. We are not as far out of the medieval woods as some suppose.

Harrington's book, nonetheless, is lucid enough to supply the material for its own criticism. He begins with an exposition of Kant, Hegel and the French *philosophes*. He shows that all attempts to marry new discovery and new thought with existing religion only drove the two further apart. He stresses the way in which philosophers before Marx considered themselves a privileged group and thought that skepticism was permissible in their own cases but dangerous

## PHILOSOPHY

# Laying to rest beliefs on religion and politics

and subversive if allowed to permeate the people. He rightly compares Marx to Prometheus. But Prometheus could not assume that the gods were necessarily benign.

This is difficult terrain. There are, obviously, millions of people who cannot bear the idea that the heavens are empty, that god is dead and that we are alone. There are also secular radicals who feel a bit queasy at the idea. And there are people who do not believe that god is dead because they never believed that he was alive in the first place. Most irritating of all, there are still people on the left who say feebly that, "after all, there are so many 'progressive' church people. Look at the Maryknolls or Archbishop Romero." This is usually said by those who are not themselves religious but who feel that religion is good enough for other people—usually other people in the Third World. It is just as trite and unoriginal as the view that the shameful papal concordat with fascism "proves" the reactionary character of Catholicism.

### Mysticism and tyranny.

Harrington is actually very adroit in his discussion of the religious and mystical element in modern tyranny. He shows that the

Nazis, though they made opportunistic use of the conservative churches, were also hostile to Christianity and sought to replace it with bogus pagan rituals. While the Stalinists, publicly committed to atheism, called upon old traditions of Russian orthodoxy as well as the "God-seekers" and "God-builders" whom Lenin had almost driven out of the Bolshevik party. Lunacharsky, Gorki and others who tried to synthesize Marxism with Christianity, cannot have intended that their ideas would become a synthesis of orthodoxy and Stalinism symbolized by the gruesome Lenin mausoleum. Still less can they have intended that the mausoleum would help legitimize the exorbitant and grandiose cult of Stalin himself. Harrington does not say so, but the Stalin cult was less of a blasphemy on Eastern Christianity than it was on Bolshevik materialism, however vulgar. Why else would the Soviet regime still take such care to maintain a tame Orthodox Church with its very own archbishop? What we have to face as an enemy is not any particular religion but the slavish, credulous mentality upon which all religious and superstitious movements feed.

After publishing *The Future of Illusion*, Freud began to doubt

that its optimistic predictions would be vindicated. He hoped that people would gradually, as it were, "grow out" of the need for faith and subjection. The appalling mixture of modernism in technology and antiquity in superstition—which drove Freud from Vienna and that might be the ideal definition of totalitarianism—made him wonder if he might not have been too sanguine.

Wilhelm Reich, Freud's disciple (about whom Harrington is too easily dismissive) argued that the left did not know how to speak to people except in arid, bread-and-butter terms. His work on repression and mass psychology was designed to undercut the Nazi appeal and to dilute the materialism of Marxism. It collapsed into eccentricity and foolishness, but it was an important try. It anticipated much of the radical spirituality of our own time. It also recalled missionary Christianity, which often maintained that, by codifying and ritualizing primitive magic, it civilized paganism and witchcraft. A fair claim, but one that reminds us that man made god in his own image and not the other way around.

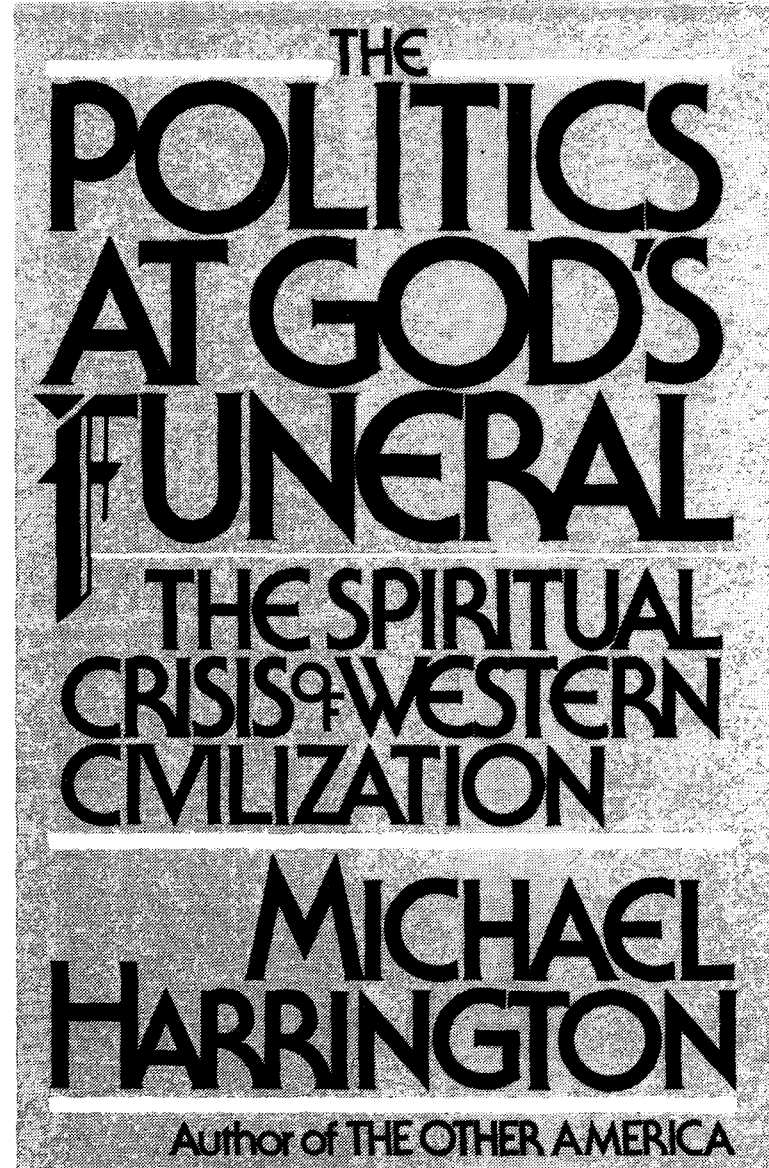
Can man, unassisted by god, make himself in a new image? Harrington believes it can be done, and that "men and women of faith and anti-faith should, in the secular realm at least, stop fighting one another and begin to work together to introduce moral dimensions into economic and social debate and decision."

As the conclusion to a fairly rigorous book, that strikes me as a very insipid one. It could have been part of some bland ecumenical exhortation or some trendy encyclical. Neither the believer nor the unbeliever need give up anything if they want to join the battle for socialism. But, if the religious promise is good or true, then there is no absolute need for socialism and therefore the believer must always be joining in spite of his or her beliefs. That the two schools should "stop fighting" is, fortunately, impossible. If it were possible, it would not be desirable.

In a country like the U.S., where religion and religiosity are everywhere and where elements on left and right claim divine authority, atheists and humanists need to be more assertive rather than less. I'm thinking here of the prevalence of pathetic oxymorons like "Liberty Baptist" or "Liberation Theology."

In his masterly book *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, G.M. de Ste Croix shows that there is no evidence that Christianity ever improved the lot or the morals of any people—and a great deal of evidence the other way. Its holy texts are the warrant for slavery, genocide, monarchy and patriarchy and, even more important, for servility and acquiescence in the face of those things. The apologetic "modern Christian" who argues faintly that of course the Bible isn't meant to be taken literally is saying that it isn't the word of god. He is, thereby, revising his faith out of existence. If the religious have so few real convictions left, why are socialists supposed to defer to their insights? Michael Harrington has ably summarized the evidence for the death of god. He should now start to "transcend" his grief for the departed.

Christopher Hitchens is the Washington columnist for *The Nation* and the editor of *Karl Marx and the Paris Commune*.



*One can't say the old anti-clerical battles are over. Whenever reactionaries are cornered they claim to be defending "Christianity."*





Drag queen: the story of racer Shirley Muldowney.

## ART & ENTERTAINMENT

### MOVIES

# A new working class heroine

By Pat Aufderheide

Going to *Heart Like a Wheel* could restore your faith in conventional Hollywood feature-filmmaking. It's a Saturday night date movie with romance and drama, one that makes you reach for your handkerchief. And it's also a film that captures the tensions of white working-class culture in the U.S. Without sugar-coating reality, it offers not only entertainment but—honest, guys—inspiration, the possibility that people can improve on the ordi-

nary oppressions of daily life. Whoever thought, in the aftermath of such movies as *Return of the Jedi* and *Mr. Mom*, that we'd see a return to American populist filmmaking with both heart and guts?

The project sounds as traditional as can be. It's a "bio-pic," in the terms of the trade—a celebrity's life story. True to form, it begins with childhood memories and ends with titles announcing the celebrity's latest achievements. But the celebrity, Shirley ("Cha Cha") Muldowney, is anything but traditional movie

material. She is a world-champion drag racing driver, the only woman champion in a "man's man" kind of competition.

Don't expect to learn much about drag racing from the film, even though it may be America's most popular spectator sport. In charting her rise to success, the film focuses closely on her personal struggle to become the best she can without sacrificing her integrity.

Daughter of a bar band musician (played by Hoyt Axton), Muldowney (Bonnie Bedelia) marries while still in high school. Both she and husband Jack Muldowney (Leo Rossi) are fascinated with cars and racing. He works at a garage—dreaming of having his own—while she waitresses. On the weekends they race cars. Soon Shirley forces the racing officials to let her compete, getting help on the way from high-style racer "Connie" Kalitta (Beau Bridges). Her pro career is too much for Jack, and she goes on the circuit alone, also

falling in love with the charming, fickle Connie. By movie's end she has had one terrible car accident, watched one of Connie's wrecks and won three world-champion awards. She has regretfully left behind the men in her life—daddy, husband, lover—but she has given generously to and taken richly from each of them. (Her son, however, ends up part of her racing crew.)

#### Not a "women's picture."

Director Jonathan Kaplan (*Over the Edge*, *White Line Fever*) and scriptwriter Ken Friedman (*White Line Fever*) have made a film that places sex discrimination at the center of conflict—and they did it without patronizing the woman in her victories or making men the bad guys. Without being political, the film becomes social commentary by rooting its drama in the authentic conditions of Muldowney's own life.

One easy pigeonhole for *Heart Like a Wheel* is a "women's pic-

ture," the term for movies where the emphasis is on the girls' feeling rather than on the boys' doing. But *Heart Like a Wheel* doesn't fit neatly into that niche, no more than its heroine fits neatly into traditional roles for women. In fact, the movie boldly crosses lines, making Muldowney's emotional journey an adventure and investing the "action" scenes with human intensity.

*Heart Like a Wheel* does give you spectacular race scenes, but what you are more likely to remember are the intimate scenes. For instance, when Shirley challenges her husband to talk seriously about her career, she blocks his view of a ballgame on TV, and you know that means war in the living room. Later, when she lies disfigured in a hospital bed after a racing accident and watches Connie pull up at the hospital door with a pretty young thing decorating his front seat, you know that her need for him (he is someone who loves her both as a woman and as a racer) is as real as her despair.

This framework allows for some of the best film performances of the year. At the center, of course, is Bonnie Bedelia, who achieves a combination of tense pride and wild daring. The men around her let their limitations show without losing those parts in their character that justify her affection. As Leo Rossi plays Muldowney, he is a good man hobbled cruelly by his insecurities. His fears override his love but without denying its reality. As Bridges plays Kalitta, he's someone whose democratic spirit comes from the same irrepressible spontaneity as his sexual abandon and his carelessness.

But if going to the movie could restore your faith in popular art, the story of its trials in distribution could restore your cheapest cynicism. 20th Century Fox executives conceived of the film as an exploitation picture about drag racing, and pegged its test marketing to that kind of ad campaign. Not surprisingly, the film bombed.

But now, after months of negotiation, Fox has gotten rave responses to a second test, and the film did well at the New York Film Festival, with several critics speculating that Bedelia might get an Oscar nomination. And *Heart Like a Wheel* is now getting national release with a new ad campaign, stressing the women's angle.

By Pat Aufderheide

Director Jonathan Kaplan, a baby-boom filmmaker whose social conscience was honed in the anti-Vietnam-war era, is exasperated by the way *Heart Like a Wheel* was typecast as an exploitation film. This hasn't been his first experience with short-sighted marketing mechanisms; his critically acclaimed *Over the Edge* disappeared on release. In the following interview, done at the New York Film Festival, he comments on filmmaking in Hollywood.

**HEART LIKE A WHEEL is remarkable for the authenticity of its scenes of working-class domestic life.**

Most American films treat working-class people like they were on beer commercials. They're either yokels or victims. They haven't been portrayed in American films as having the intelligence and integrity that is granted to the middle class.

**Do you think American main-**

## Jonathan Kaplan: high aspirations and many exasperations

**stream movies even grant that to the middle class?**

Well, I'd say their problems have been treated with dignity. They are seen as meat for a whole film. Should I run off with the handsomest English actor of his generation or buy the best townhouse in New York? Shall I have a suburban marriage or take up a career as a ballet dancer? Whatever the choices are, they are not issues about everyday life as most people know it—about working people, who in fact would call themselves middle class.

**Still, you show a curiosity and affection for the world of the working poor.**

Sure, what drew me to the story in the first place was that it was about a working-class woman. But her problems aren't things that everyone can't identify with. The issues, in other words, cut across class lines. If any woman wants to pursue her talent, it's extraordinarily difficult.

**You've made several mainstream movies that stress human relationships and social tension, and you've also had bitter experiences in getting them seen. Is your case proof that you can make popular art within commercial entertainment production?**

I'm becoming less and less convinced that it's possible to make

this kind of movie. With *Over the Edge* I knew in advance that there would be trouble. I thought it was inflammatory to suggest that middle class kids were anarchistic and into drugs, and I understood that the people deciding the film's fate were the same types as the parents portrayed in the film. And my worst fears were realized—the film was sabotaged in distribution. They finally gave it a short run at an art house in New York, where at \$6 a head you can bet kids were never going to see it.

But with *Heart Like a Wheel* I thought I was making a mainstream biography. I didn't think it was particularly radical. I was just telling the story of this woman's life. I sort of thought I was making *Alice Doesn't Race Here Anymore*, or maybe *Coal Miner's Daughter* about drag racing.

There was no major political statement to be made, other than the fact that she had a passion for something and was very good at it, and that she didn't feel fulfilled unless she was ex-

pressing that talent.

**How do you explain the disastrous first-time marketing of the film?**

The business is run by middle-aged men who are fundamentally lazy. If it's not *Porky's* in 3-D they don't want to handle it. Granted, this movie is harder to sell than a star vehicle, or a juvenile piece of crap. It is basically an adult movie.

But it's a junk-food business, ever since the advent of the \$100 million gross. Everyone just wants to get the kids into the movie houses. They're the target audience. The lack of talent in the marketing division is appalling to me.

I didn't think I was making an uncommercial movie, you know. I assume people go to the movies to laugh and to cry. With this picture, I thought, well people will cry three times. But then I went to the first advertising meeting, and they decided to focus the campaign on the cars. I told them you can't do that, because the film doesn't focus on the cars. They told me,



## TELEVISION

# The Day After: shock waves on the air waves

By Eric Mankin

After nearly two years of ballyhoo, ABC's television movie about an atomic holocaust turns out to be very frightening—two hours of film that will throw a vision of "the day after" into as many as 50 million American homes November 20. And though it will likely have political effects, they may not be exactly what nuclear freeze and disarmament supporters hope for.

Written by Edward Hume, a veteran film-for-television writer, *The Day After* follows a dozen or so characters through the month following a large-scale nuclear exchange with the Soviet Union. The cause of the war is a political crisis in central Europe brought on by a mutiny of East German troops. The crisis sparks land combat, then the use of tactical nuclear weapons and finally a thermonuclear doomsday.

According to Robert Papazian, producer of the film, the Defense Department was given copies of each draft of the script, which resulted in what he called a "genuine creative difference" between ABC and the Pentagon.

Hume, Papazian and director Nicholas Meyer's (*Time After Time*, *Star Trek II*) idea was for a "neutralized" war—one in which neither superpower was clearly identified as the one who took off the atomic lid. The Department of Defense, according to Papazian, preferred the blame to flow Eastward—something more akin to NBC's 1981 *World War III*, in which power-mad KGB psychos blow up the world out of spite. ABC commendably didn't cave in, though apparently the print that will be broadcast won't contain the reference—appearing in the one previewed—to Pershing missiles in Europe.

## Death in the family.

But the politics and causes of the nuclear holocaust happen off-screen in *The Day After* and don't really matter in terms of its impact. Politics and causes have always been things that television—and network television in particular—cannot explicitly handle. What network television is about, and has always been about, is family. *The Day After* follows squarely in this tradition.

In a sense, *The Day After* is the most pessimistic family picture ever made for television—which in general holds to the line that, as long as families can come to terms with themselves, there is no disaster that can't be faced.

Here atomic war is shown atomizing families. Family number one—Kansas farmers who proudly fly the American flag on their lawn—loses a son to flashblinding, a father to looters

and a newlywed daughter and her strong young bridegroom to radiation sickness.

Family number two—a happily married middle-aged doctor (Jason Robards Jr.) and his wife and daughter—is simply obliterated by the blast, with the doctor

ly themed *Testament*, which makes its post-apocalypse point through small, personal epiphanies and sorrows. In *The Day After*, the graphics, the images, the visualizations of the post-war world has to carry the film. And they do: *The Day After* is not profound or startlingly original or very politically pointed, but it does pack an emotional charge. Any images strong enough to frighten commercials off of prime-time television have something going for them.

The images most people who see the show will take away with them are the ones produced by the make-up artist Michael Westmore's simulations of radiation sickness symptoms. People who seem the typical television pictures of robust health disintegrate before our eyes. By the end of the film, they are hollow-eyed walking corpses, their hair

*ABC's holocaust movie is not quite THE DAWN OF THE DEAD. But it is unlike anything usually seen on television. Its effect, however, may not be what freeze backers hope.*

surviving by chance and wondering why. The same happens to the family of a young Air Force enlisted man.

The script of *The Day After* was cut almost in half in production and postproduction, largely because of problems ABC encountered selling commercials. Unusual problems. Sponsors weren't so much afraid of backlash or boycott as of juxtaposition. Scenes of slow death by radiation sickness would have faded into a scene of mom and sis discussing their favorite laxative; scenes of happy stevedores or loggers knocking off work and heading for a good-times tavern would have faded into lines of hundreds of aimless, dirty, terminally ill vagrants awaiting a few scraps of handout food.

The resulting abridgement plays hob with the film's characterizations, which weren't deep to begin with. There is some good acting, notably by Robards, but it is unlike the similar-

—this is the detail people will remember—having fallen out in hanks. This is very unusual for television, because one of the medium's strongest taboos is against any detailed rendering of the processes of physical decay. (Even in hospital shows, the characters who are supposed to be *in extremis* seem to be bursting off their beds with vitality.)

*The Day After* is not quite *Dawn of the Dead*, but it's not like anything that's usually on television. It is scary.

## Political ramifications.

Why, then, is this not going to produce a groundswell in favor of a nuclear freeze or disarmament?

In the first decade of this century, Upton Sinclair wrote *The Jungle* as an expose of the appalling exploitation of immigrant workers in the Chicago

*Living the unthinkable: a Kansas woman watches as nuclear war engulfs her hometown.*



result of the widely read novel was not an improvement in the working conditions for the immigrants—but rather passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act, which protected people using the products of this exploitation.

The situation may be similar with *The Day After*. At the screening I attended the hushed talk on the way out took a peculiar turn. "Gee, that's awful," people were saying to each other. "How would we survive something like that? How would we keep our family alive?" The lesson learned from *The Day After* in U.S. living rooms will not be, "We must make sure that there will never be a nuclear war"; but rather, "This family had better make some very careful plans, or we're going to end up like the ones we saw."

Working in conjunction with

ABC, a non-profit educational organization called Cultural Information Service has prepared a "viewers' guide" to the film, complete with family discussion questions.

For example, question 12: "Danny Dahlberg asks his father the purpose of shoveling dirt over the basement windows. Later, as the family waits in their shelter, Jolene asks, 'What's radiation?' Could you answer her question? Do you think it's important for people today to be informed about the effects of radiation? Would you, for example, know how to measure radiation and when it was safe to go outside?"

Question 25: "Do you think the survivors...who commit violent acts or engage in looting should be judged by traditional standards of morality?"

And the best question is the second one: "At what point in the two days prior to the attack would you have abandoned business as usual and taken a protective course of action for your family?"

It doesn't really matter that in the context of the film we aren't shown any protective courses of action that work—with the interesting exception of the doctor's neighbors, who prudently fly off to Guadalajara, taking their maid with them. Escape, survival and strategies for staying alive are the inevitable direction the gruesome landscapes of *The Day After* push an audience.

Commendably, *The Day After* never tries to say that, with proper preparations, with a little advance planning, more people might survive. It doesn't really have to. *The Day After* will probably have a formidable impact on viewers, prodding some of them into action. But it will not be organizing protests against nuclear arms or military budgets. The movie will probably pull more votes for shelters and space lasers than for the freeze and disarmament.

And this will happen on a family level, too. Frankly, if you're not ready for a very long and hysterical conversation with some very frightened children about why you don't have a bomb shelter, put the kids to bed before you watch *The Day After*.

Eric Mankin writes a media column for the L.A. Weekly.



# Detente

Continued from page 11

ly way to eventually loosen the Soviet grip. But to French patriots, this arouses prospects more unpleasant than the destruction of Germany: its re-emergence as a strong economic and cultural pole in the middle of Europe.

Under Mitterrand, the French Socialists turned their backs on the SPD, and rave on against the horrors of "pacifism" and "neutralism." But their policies are confused by contradictions. The same general approach is expressed more clearly and logically by Chirac and the French right, whose return to power is being prepared by Mitterrand's policies.

If the SPD policies find no support in the West, the "Gaullists" in the Pentagon can figure that power in West Germany may swing to the "neo-Gaullists" in that country around Franz-Joseph Strauss, the right-wing Bavarian boss. Then Germany can go to it and plunge without any inhibition into the nuclear and conventional arms race, probably leaving France behind in the process.

A main long-range secret political purpose behind the Euromissiles may well turn out to be the nuclear rearmament of West Germany as the spearhead of a more offensive Western Alliance in Europe. Oddly enough, the greatest boost to this project has come from the French, and the greatest obstacle remains the Germans.

# Lies

Continued from page 25

leader. Bishop was kept waiting in Washington for more than a week before William Clark, at the time the national security adviser, consented to meet with him. As subsequent events show, those talks

went nowhere.

Bishop was undoubtedly serious in his diplomatic efforts. The White House undoubtedly was not.

## Lie No. 5: Bishop as Third World dictator.

Also in his October 27 speech, Reagan declared that in 1979, Bishop "staged a military coup and overthrew the government which had been elected under the constitution left to the people by the British." Sir Eric Gairy, Bishop's predecessor, may have been voted into office in 1976, but, for that matter, so was Hitler in 1933. The 1976 elections were conducted under such conditions of political duress that they can hardly be counted as valid. Gairy was a Third World despot in the classic, loony mold of Papa Doc Duvalier and Idi Amin. His long-standing passion was for flying saucers and he would sometimes travel to New York to lecture on them at the UN. He was a nightclub owner who had been dismissed by the British in 1961 for misuse of funds. He believed that he was chosen by God to rule. His political police force, known as the "Mongoose Gang," terrorized the island. Maurice Bishop's father was among those who died when Gairy bloodily suppressed demonstrations against his regime.

Not that anyone cared, of course. Grenada was merely a tiny island of 133 square miles in the Caribbean, a flyspeck on the map, of interest only to tourists in search of a pretty beach. No reporters for big newspapers wrote articles about deteriorating political conditions. No political leaders raised a peep of protest. As long as Grenada was in the grips of a right-wing lunatic who faithfully supported American interests, Washington's attitude was decidedly *laissez-faire*. Only when the island veered sharply to the left was there suddenly a lot of hand-wringing over the lack of democracy.

## Lie No. 6: The invasion was launched "under the terms of a treaty, a mutual assistance pact."

No sooner had the troops parachuted into Grenada than the White House issued a tortured interpretation of the treaty of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States to justify the invasion. But as a legal brief, it wouldn't wash. The OECS allows for mutual defense only against external aggression and only upon the approval of all eight members, including Grenada. But Grenada was not under attack, except by the Americans, and only five of the eight members had given their okay. Moreover, the treaty was not even registered with the United Nations, thus rendering it legally invalid. The invasion was also contrary to the UN Charter, whose fundamental principle is that nations should not go around blithely sending armies across one another's frontiers. For better or for worse, this is the spirit of international conduct that has kept the peace, at least among the major powers, since World War II. Reagan's flouting of that principle is what makes his invasion of Grenada so dangerous.

## Lie No. 7: Reporters were kept off the island for their own safety.

This was the most transparent lie of all.

The American military was apparently inspired by the British censorship of news coverage during the Falkland Islands invasion, but in this case the Yanks went a good deal farther. The British at least allowed reporters to accompany the naval task force as it made its way to the South Atlantic, while the Americans denied that an invasion was underway until the last possible minute. Reporters' safety was the last thing on their mind. Controlling the flow of information was the first.

Behaving undemocratically toward other nations is one thing, but treating domestic political institutions with similar contempt is quite another. It is an indication that Reagan's international campaign of deceit may be opening up a new front at home. "This is the real thing," warned *The Nation* in a front-page editorial on the Grenadian invasion. "The aggressive campaign to assert American authority and secure control around the world. From Nicaragua to Namibia, the opponents of that authority and the subjects of control should fear the worst. From Nicaragua to Namibia, indeed. And, it might be added, from New York to New Mexico."

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Beth Maschiot**.

E V A N S T O N , I L

### November 18-20

Midwest Critical Mass '83: A national safe energy conference. Northwestern University. Registration \$15. Participants include: Abbie Hoffman, Harvey Wasserman, Fred Millar, Anna Gyorgy, and many others. For more info: Citizens Against Nuclear Power, (312) 786-9041.

N E W Y O R K , N Y

### November 29

"In Solidarity with the Right to Rebel: Spotlight on Chile and Poland." With Ariel Dorfman, author of *Widows* and *The Empire's Old Clothes*, and Daniel Singer, author of *The Road to Gdansk*. 7:30 p.m. at Public School 41, West 11th St. and 6th Ave. Donation: \$3.00. For information: Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West, 301 W. 105th St., #2R, New York, NY 10025, (212) 222-9703.

P H I L A D E L P H I A , P A

### December 6

Prepared to shed or modify old concepts? Jay Mandle will speak on *The Economics of Feasible Socialism*, a new book by Alec Nove. Discussion will follow. 8:00 p.m., Summit Church, Greene and Westview Sts. Requested donation \$3, \$1.50 students and unemployed. Philadelphia Democratic Socialists of America.

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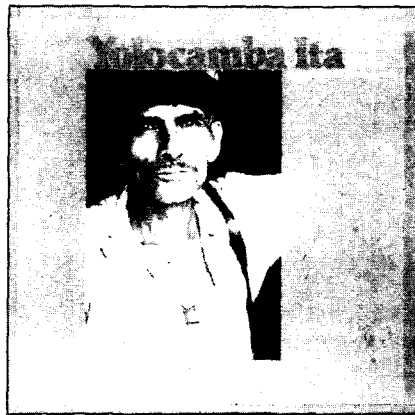
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Continued from page 32

real feeling was dismay that Johnson would be taking Kennedy's place.

For others, the news was merely curious. In Milan, Harrington finally found some other Americans in his hotel bar. They were Texans, having a very dispassionate discussion on the probable rifle sight used to kill Kennedy.

And for some there was fear.

Author Sidney Lens arrived at Amherst College in Massachusetts and discovered that his scheduled speech had been cancelled because of the assassination. He called his wife to tell her he would be catching a plane home early and discovered a hornets' nest.

Lens was one of the founders of the "Fair Play for Cuba Committee," of which Lee Harvey Oswald was said by the news media to be a member. The Lens household had been besieged with calls from *Time*, *Life*, the *New York Times* and the radio and TV networks, all wanting to know if Lens knew Oswald.

At the airport, Lens sat next to a couple of truck drivers and eavesdropped on their conversation. Their foul mood frightened him. They described the most grotesque tortures imaginable to be performed upon Oswald and all associated

with him.

"I just wondered," Lens recalls, "whether Lyndon Johnson would order a wave of arrests of suspects that night. If so, perhaps I should stay away from home for a few days to see what happens...."

## Grief in the global village.

Perhaps one reason Kennedy's assassination hit so hard was because it was the first national tragedy the nation shared as it happened. The bombing of Pearl Harbor and the death of Franklin Roosevelt were reported after the fact.

Historian Albert McLean, dean of Point Park College in Pittsburgh, watched the subsequent murder of Oswald on television. He was both shocked and fascinated.

"I'd never seen anyone killed before and it was extremely unnerving. But I also realized that I shared this experience with millions and millions of other Americans who, because of television, were also with me right there on the scene. We were conscious of participating in history at the very instant it was being made."

For many Americans, there was also a personal identification with Kennedy. "We were coming out of the Eisenhower years," remembers Marilyn Levin, director of the Pittsburgh Film Makers. "They were so boring. Suddenly, everything just seemed to sparkle, like we were in Wonderland. Kennedy made us care about the country for the first time."

Kennedy was everything Eisenhower was not. Young. Rich. Handsome. Sophisticated. Especially for the young, it was hard not to be attracted by the glamour of the Kennedy image.

"The first time I ever admitted I wore a size 10 shoe," recalls Charlene Hunter-Gault, "was when I found out Jacqueline also wore size 10."

Hunter-Gault, co-anchor of public television's MacNeil-Lehrer news program, is black and saw real possibilities for racial justice in the Kennedy White House.

"The Kennedys weren't as strong on civil rights as they could have been," she remembers, "but they made you feel there was potential for all of us. I mean, 'Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.' We really believed that. We bought that. John Kennedy was part of my dreams at that point."

Indeed, as if there were some union between leader and led, between the president and the nation, life ceased. Work stopped, shops closed, students were sent home.

Historian Philip Foner was researching a book in the Newspaper Division of Washington, D.C.'s Library of Congress. Like everyone else, Foner stopped work and went home.

Randy Harris, who works for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, was eight at the time. A day or

two after the assassination, his parents took him to a movie in nearby McKeesport, just to escape the omnipresent funeral coverage on TV. The theater was closed.

So universal was the expectation that the nation's life, like the president's would cease, that writer Isaac Asimov was surprised to learn that his scheduled speech before a Mensa group that night was still expected.

"I was not in the mood to talk," he recalls, "but I told them I would show up, just on the off chance that people would be there. But I really didn't think anyone would come."

"Well," he continues, "they filled the darn hall. What I hadn't expected was that people wanted to escape the brutal reality of the news. Once I began speaking, I, too, forgot."

"But, I felt I had embarrassed myself by going on as usual and for 10 years thereafter I observed my own version of the memory of that day. I refused to give any talk on November 22."

"It haunts me still," says Gail Pressberg, director of Middle East Programs for the American Friends Service Committee, about that day. "For my generation, it was the crack in the world, when things started coming apart. The world would never be the same again."

Eric Leif Davin and Anita Alverio report regularly for National Public Radio from Pittsburgh.

## CLASSIFIED

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# TONIGHT'S SHOW CANCELED

Americans have never forgotten  
the day Kennedy was shot.

# NOW 22

By Eric Leif Davin & Anita Alverio

**I**T WAS THE REAL BEGINNING OF that turbulent decade known as the '60s. The end of innocence. The day we discovered how the real world works. It was November 22, 1963.

Musician David Bromberg heard the news as someone rushed into his history class at Columbia University shouting that the president had been shot.

In Chicago it was raining hard and comedian Dick Gregory had canceled his 9:00 a.m. flight into Pittsburgh for a lecture that night. A "psychic" comedy writer on his staff predicted that morning that the president would be shot. To kid his friend, Gregory pretended to cancel his scheduled lecture at the University of Pittsburgh, meanwhile booking himself onto an afternoon flight. In the cab riding home, Dick Gregory heard on the radio that the president had indeed been shot.

In Saigon, it was not yet dawn. Author David Halberstam, on assignment for the *New York Times*, was shaken awake

by his photographer friend Horst Faas. Faas told him he wouldn't go out on helicopter patrol to shoot pictures that day.

"Why not?" asked Halberstam.

"They shoot Kennedy," Faas replied.

It was 20 years ago, but for anyone over the age of 25, the day President John F. Kennedy was murdered in Dallas remains as vivid and clear as yesterday.

Canadian novelist Margaret Atwood, then a secretary in a market research company, was at her typewriter. She had discovered that she could do her job in the morning and pretend to do it in the afternoon while actually working on her first novel.

Atwood put down her styrofoam cup of coffee and stared in disbelief at the news. Then it appeared to be true, and she thought to herself, "Yes, well, that's the kind of thing Americans do from time to time. They killed Lincoln, for instance, and they shot a couple of other presidents that way."

But to most of us, those other assassinations were ancient history, having little to do with the present, little to do

with the U.S. we knew. We felt, as Marion Damick, of the Pittsburgh American Civil Liberties Union, put it, "Foreign countries are used to that. But it isn't something that happens in the U.S."

Suddenly, America was like all other countries, and, at that moment, citizens from other countries seemed to feel a kinship with America.

## Reactions abroad.

Folk singer Pete Seeger was in Japan on a world tour. Seeger and Kennedy were in the same class at Harvard, although their paths seldom crossed and Seeger later disagreed with Kennedy on most matters. Yet strangers saw Seeger merely as an American and stopped him on the streets to silently press their hands into his in sympathy.

Author Michael Harrington and his wife were flying from Warsaw to Milan that day. President Kennedy had read Harrington's book, *The Other America*, sometime in February or March and had started in motion what would later become Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty.

But Harrington didn't know that at the time. He had been in Europe since January and was out of touch with what was happening at home. After unpacking in their hotel room, the Harringtons went downstairs to the dining room. The waiter quietly approached their table and said to them, "They have just killed Kennedy."

Wanting to find out more, Harrington and his wife went to the Milan office of the Associated Press. Everyone there was Italian, but they cleared a desk for the Harringtons and brought the news to them first as it came off the ticker.

A few Americans were unmoved by the news from Dallas. Ron Weisen, president of the Homestead, Pa., local of the United Steel Workers union, was drinking with some buddies at the Circle bar in Pittsburgh's Market Square when the news came on the TV. Immediately, he remembers, a woman stood up and said, "I hope he dies."

For folksinger Charlie King, then a young Boston Irish-Catholic Republican whose parents voted for Nixon, the only

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